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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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October, 1944

Biography of a Nation of Joiners

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER*

AT first thought it seems paradoxical that a country famed for being individualistic should provide the world's greatest example of joiners. How this came about is the object of this sketch, but the illusion of paradox may be dispelled at once. To Americans individualism has meant, not the individual's independence of other individuals, but his and their freedom from governmental restraint. Traditionally, the people have tended to minimize collective organization as represented by the state while exercising the largest possible liberty in forming their own voluntary organizations. This conception of a political authority too weak to interfere with men's ordinary pursuits actually created the necessity for self-constituted associations to do things beyond the capacity of a single person, and by reverse effect the success of such endeavors proved a continuing argument against the growth of stronger government. The tendency was reinforced by the absence of fixed social classes. As Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out in the 1830's, men in

*The author, a former president of the American Historical Association, is Francis Lee Higginson professor in Harvard University.

aristocratic countries do not have the same reason "to combine in order to act," for "Every wealthy and powerful citizen constitutes the head of a permanent and compulsory association, composed of all those who are dependent upon him, or whom he makes subservient to the execution of his designs." The "independent and feeble" citizens of a democratic nation, lacking these advantages, must "learn voluntarily to help one another."¹

The trend toward collective action began slowly in American history, but it gathered impetus as the years passed, new opportunities beckoned, and people perceived the benefits to be gained. Each fresh application of the associative principle opened the way for further ventures and at the same time helped to provide the needed experience. In the end, no department of human existence remained unaffected. Because the subject in its entirety is too vast for more than a bird's-eye view here, this discussion centers upon voluntary bodies of sizable membership, reasonably long duration, and fairly large territorial extent, and it proceeds by means of sampling rather than complete coverage. Even as so limited, the theme is inconveniently large, for it includes incorporated as well as unincorporated groups, secret societies as well as open ones, organizations for religious, economic, and political purposes as well as those seeking humanitarian, cultural, and recreational ends. By a canon of humor the term "joiner" is generally restricted to a member of fraternal orders, but the fact is that this particular proclivity, far from being a unique development, was merely a somewhat belated manifestation of a spirit which had come to penetrate nearly every aspect of American life.

I

During the first century or more of the colonial period the people displayed little aptitude for large co-operative undertakings. They had had scant experience in doing things collectively in Europe. Moreover, the population was small, towns were few, and communication was difficult. Nevertheless, in one important phase of life, that of religion, the principle of association struck quick and effective root. In a majority of the colonies the settlers found they had not escaped the restrictions of an established church by removing to America, for in New England the dominant Puritans devised their own counterpart of the Old World system and in the Southern provinces the Anglicans transplanted the system existing at home. This union of church and state went hard with nonconformists, for these early Americans took their religion more seriously than has any later generation. Fortunately,

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Henry Reeve, trans., New York, 1900), II, 115.

the field was open equally to all beliefs in the intermediate region—Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and most of New York—and there the various groups operated on a basis of free association and self-support. Even in the colonies with official churches, the dissenters insisted upon setting up their own places of worship alongside those that were public-supported, though this subjected them to a species of double taxation. The plan of voluntarism (or voluntaryism) as it was worked out in the different provinces amazed most onlookers from Europe, who could not understand why anyone should pay for the maintenance of religion when he was not obliged to. The colonists in organizing their own devotional societies instituted a system which would eventually prevail in all American denominations.

In other than spiritual concerns, however, men preferred to go their individual ways. It was not until toward the middle of the eighteenth century, when towns had grown larger and more numerous, that people ventured somewhat timidly to extend the principle of voluntary group action to other interests. Associations for local civic purposes, though not unknown earlier, now assumed far greater prominence, as the career of Philadelphia's leading citizen bears witness. Benjamin Franklin, who in so many other ways foreshadowed the modern American, qualifies further as an organizer and joiner. Besides forming the Junto, a secret club of artisans and tradesmen, he started a subscription library, an academy for the education of youth, and a volunteer company of fire fighters, and he also took part in founding a hospital and a fire-insurance company. In addition to these community organizations, he founded the American Philosophical Society, our oldest learned body, served for a time as provincial grand master of the Masons, and helped to promote a Western land company.

For various reasons the larger-scale undertakings proved far less successful than the local ones. Distances between the principal towns were still great and communications slow; most persons viewed oath-bound lodges with distrust, if not alarm; and the British government was dubious as to the wisdom of encouraging Western colonization schemes. The American Philosophical Society, which aspired to an interprovincial membership, languished for some years after its formation in 1743; and the Masonic order, introduced into the leading cities from England in the 1730's, excited public antagonism as being aristocratic in tendency and subversive of good morals. On one occasion the New York members were "complimented with Snow Balls and Dirt" while marching through the streets.² In Philadelphia popular

² Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York, 1938), p. 436.

anger over an apprentice's death in a bogus initiation caused Masonic activities to cease from 1738 to 1749.³ The land company in which Franklin was active encountered intercolonial jealousies as well as ministerial objections and delays. Nevertheless this Vandalia project, as a profit-making scheme, bespoke a more natural interest of the times, as is shown by the fact that Franklin's group was only one of many that were formed. Such undertakings had become possible as surplus capital increased in the colonial towns. Since the best coastal lands were now largely in private hands, men with money to invest looked to the untenanted tracts beyond the mountains, and a rising speculative fever caused them to league together in order to obtain governmental concessions. Beginning about the middle of the eighteenth century, various groups of provincials, some with English associates, organized such enterprises as the Ohio Company, the Mississippi Company, the Illinois Company, the Wabash Land Company, and the Transylvania Company.⁴ Though none of these actually succeeded, the widespread interest they represented foreshadowed the future extension of the associative device to a wide diversity of capitalistic purposes.

Considerably more effective were the colonists' strivings for united political action. For this the home government was unwittingly responsible, for until the British authorities in the 1760's and 1770's adopted a policy of closer imperial control, political parties had been unknown on a continental scale and tended to be temporary even in the separate provinces. Now, alarmed by common fears of parliamentary taxation and threats to their trade, the people not only formed local groups of protest but also acted in concert with similar bodies in other colonies. These interprovincial alliances constituted the first national parties in American history.

The Stamp Act emergency of 1764-66 produced a multifarious network of such agencies up and down the seaboard: merchants' committees, active in stirring legislatures to opposition; secret mechanics' organizations, which under the name of Sons of Liberty sometimes resorted to terroristic methods; and other bands of citizens who joined together to boycott British manufactures. The Stamp Act Congress brought many of the leaders together for the first time face to face. As crisis piled upon crisis, these organs were supplemented by still others, notably the so-called committees of correspondence which in New England were appointed by town meetings but elsewhere emanated usually from unofficial gatherings. When parliament embarked upon drastic coercive proceedings after the Boston Tea Party, the

³ Melvin M. Johnson, *The Beginnings of Freemasonry in America* (New York, 1924), pp. 191-92, 205.

⁴ See Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies* (New York, 1939), *passim*.

patriots formed provincial congresses and conventions, and proceeded to assemble the First Continental Congress, which, though not avowedly or constitutionally a government, functioned like one, extending and reinvigorating the committee system and adopting measures of economic opposition which all persons must obey on pain of being publicly blacklisted. Through the associative process the insurgent elements thus reared a structure which, as a Tory feelingly remarked, "takes the Government out of the hands of the Governour, Council, and General Assembly; and the execution of the laws out of the hands of the Civil Magistrates and Juries."⁵ Organized now from center to circumference, the patriot party presently unsheathed the sword against the British and eventually declared America's independence. Under conditions of extreme provocation the people thus demonstrated their capacity for common action for political ends.

II

In this hesitant and halting way the colonial era saw the emergence of what was to become a dominant American trait. Prompted originally by a passion for liberty of worship, and for a long time going no further, the associative impulse began to invade more mundane undertakings as the break with England approached. Though it achieved decisive results only in the realm of public affairs, the foundations were laid for future progress in other respects as well. National independence hastened these tendencies. The philosophy of natural rights underlying the Revolution exalted the individual's capacity to act for himself; the military struggle taught men from different sections valuable lessons in practical co-operation; the mounting sense of national consciousness suggested new vistas of achievement; and Britain was powerless to interpose a restraining hand. A little later, after a decade of political instability, the adoption of the Constitution stimulated still further applications of the collective principle.

In the domain of spiritual concerns the complete divorce of church and state was now effected, first in the South and later in New England. Voluntarism thus became the practice of all devotional associations. Jefferson's famous Virginia statute of religious liberty affirmed that "the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind."⁶ Such denominations as had maintained Old World connections proceeded to sever them in order to reorganize upon a separate American basis. Moreover, many of the states enacted general laws specifically granting church groups equal opportunities

⁵ *New-York Gazetteer*, Feb. 16, 1775.

⁶ William W. Hening, comp., *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, XII, 86.

of incorporation—a foretaste of the system that the next generation would apply to business groups.⁷ A further innovation was the formation of benevolent societies, religious in inspiration but nonsectarian in personnel and direction. Profiting by British example, these creations, usually the outgrowth of local bodies, labored to awaken an interest in Christianity beyond church circles and even beyond the United States.⁸ The principal agencies were the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825), and the American Home Missionary Society (1826). While each of these organizations discharged a particular function, all stood for a Biblical rather than a doctrinal approach to religion, and they preserved their independence of denominational interference by maintaining financial self-sufficiency. This concern of the devout for the spiritually neglected was a halfway house to the humanitarian reform societies of the Jacksonian period.

Meanwhile, in the economic sphere, the associative spirit flowered in a profusion of local capitalistic enterprises, notably for building toll roads and establishing banks. The first agricultural improvement societies also made their appearance, some of them statewide in extent. Distances continued to emphasize restricted projects; yet, as in the case of religious benevolence, larger ones were also undertaken. With British oversight removed, aggressive men, sometimes employing unscrupulous methods, joined forces to secure from Congress or the state legislatures extensive land grants in the Mississippi Valley. Such men as Manasseh Cutler of Massachusetts, Rufus Putnam of Connecticut, Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, and Patrick Henry of Virginia participated in some of the earlier schemes. On its own motion the Federal government, utilizing powers derived from the newly ratified Constitution, incorporated a bank of the United States under private control, with branches in the leading seaboard cities; and in 1816, five years after the charter expired, Congress set up a Second United States Bank for a twenty-year period with a much larger capitalization. As yet, however, economic undertakings of interstate or national scope were the exception rather than the rule.

The adoption of the Constitution unintentionally provided also a firmer basis for voluntary political associations. The Founding Fathers had thought

⁷ Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (Cambridge, 1917), II, 16–17.

⁸ [James Walker], "Associations for Benevolent Purposes," *Christian Examiner*, II (1825), 241–52. See also Oliver W. Elsbee, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* (Williamsport, 1928), and James O. Oliphant, "The American Missionary Spirit, 1828–1835," *Church History*, VII (1938), 125–37.

of parties as transitory combinations of legislators, coalescing and dissolving as new measures were considered, but the device of checks and balances would have rendered such a system difficult, if not unworkable. The requirement of electing the President, Senate, and House in three different ways entailed the danger that these organs of government would each go its separate way unless some voluntary agency unknown to the Constitution geared them together. To supply this unifying element the Federalist and Republican parties quickly took shape, the one looking to Hamilton and the other to Jefferson for inspiration. Thus were instituted those permanent groupings of voters which, as the suffrage was broadened, later generations would mold into even more powerful instruments of political action.

The various extensions of collective enterprise during this first half-century of national independence did not go unchallenged by persons and groups who feared the effects upon either their own or the public welfare. Certain of the churches resented the encroaching activities of the benevolent societies "subject to no ecclesiastical responsibility, and adopting no formula of faith by which their religious tenets may be ascertained."⁹ These adjunct bodies were also charged with drying up sources of funds which might otherwise have replenished denominational coffers. The growing rift in the Presbyterian fold over the question of voluntary associations led directly to the great schism of 1837 between the Old School and New School contingents.

Capitalistic associations aroused hostility because of the special legal advantages they enjoyed at the expense of possible competitors. Few colonial economic enterprises had been incorporated, not even the land companies. But now, enticed by new and more exciting prospects of profit, commercial groups turned increasingly to the legislatures for charters conferring such privileges as rights of way, limited liability for debts, and permanence of organization. To many persons the government's action in bestowing exclusive favors seemed to ally it with the "large monied interests" and to violate the "natural and legal rights of mankind."¹⁰ They saw no more reason for a union of business and state than of church and state. A Philadelphia pamphleteer in 1792, maintaining that wealth already wielded undue influence, continued: "Laws, it is said, cannot equalize men,—no—but ought they, for that reason, to aggravate the inequality which they cannot cure? . . . It is not the distinction of titles which constitutes an aristocracy; it is the

⁹ William W. Sweet, ed., *The Presbyterians, 1783-1840* (New York, 1936), p. 829. See his *The Story of Religions in America* (New York, 1930), pp. 368-72, for the attitude of Western Baptists.

¹⁰ Davis, *Essays*, II, 304, 305, quoting contemporary critics.

principle of partial association."¹¹ Though some critics objected to any incorporation at all, most wished to replace the practice of granting particular charters with a system of general incorporation open to all able to meet the specified conditions. In the national arena the dispute over corporate privileges centered in the struggle over chartering the First United States Bank. Behind the constitutional controversy lay deep-seated democratic objections to the establishment of a financial monopoly. The Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case (1819), while not passing upon the issue of equality of privilege, gave great impetus to the associative trend for a time by promulgating the doctrine of the freedom of charters from later alteration by sole action of the lawmaking authority.

Political associations also encountered opposition, with President Washington particularly vocal on the subject. The Democratic Societies, which sprang up in most of the states during his second administration to agitate for popular rights and carry on pro-French propaganda, kindled his fears for the maintenance of orderly government. In denouncing to Congress the "self-created societies" that had instigated the Whisky Insurrection in western Pennsylvania his words were intended to apply equally to the Democratic clubs.¹² Returning to the theme in his Farewell Address, he specifically condemned "all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities." Lest he be understood as not including political parties, he added, "In governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged."¹³

Local social and literary clubs, on the other hand, excited little criticism, and even the Masonic fraternity seemed to have lived down its earlier unpopularity, though portents of future trouble appeared in the increasing strictures on its unorthodox religious ideals by church groups.¹⁴ By contrast, a new national secret order, the Society of the Cincinnati, raised a whirlwind of wrath which the country did not soon forget. Formed in 1783 by Revolutionary officers on the basis of hereditary membership, the organization struck many as a potential military threat to the people's freedom as well as the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 440, quoting from *Five Letters to the Yeomanry of the United States*, probably by George Logan.

¹² See his *Writings*, ed. Worthington C. Ford (New York, 1889), XII, 454-55, 465-66.

¹³ James D. Richardson, comp., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1896-99), I, 163, 217, 219. The fullest account of the political clubs is Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies* (New York, 1942).

¹⁴ Charles McCarthy, "The Antimasonic Party," American Historical Association, *Report for 1902*, I, 542-43; David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont* (New York, 1939), pp. 90-93.

scheme of an exclusive class to perpetuate a species of un-American nobility. The press volleyed against it, Rhode Island considered disfranchising persons who joined it, and the Massachusetts legislature proclaimed it "dangerous to the peace, liberty, and safety of the Union."¹⁵ Such fears were doubtless hysterical, but the Cincinnati suffered a blight from which it did not recover until after the Civil War. Nor were the veterans of any of the intervening wars able to establish effective societies.

III

Notwithstanding the occasional dikes of resistance the associative current steadily gathered momentum during the first half century of national independence. In the next generation it seemed to many to reach flood proportions. "In truth," wrote William Ellery Channing as early as 1829,

one of the most remarkable circumstances or features of our age is the energy with which the principle of combination, or of action by joint forces, by associated numbers, is manifesting itself. . . . Those who have one great object find one another out through a vast extent of country, join their forces, settle their mode of operation, and act together with the uniformity of a disciplined army.¹⁶

Without a knowledge of these organizations, he said, one would fail to perceive the "most powerful springs" of social action. Alexis de Tocqueville, the Frenchman who visited the United States in 1831-32, quickly sensed their importance. "The power of association," he noted in his diary, "has reached its uttermost development in America," and as the luminous discussion in his published work shows, he marveled at "the extreme skill with which the inhabitants . . . succeed in proposing a common object to the exertions of a great many men, and in getting them voluntarily to pursue it."¹⁷ To posterity, of course, the accomplishments appear less impressive than to people at the time, who compared the situation with earlier America or with what they knew of Europe.

What caused this passion for joining? Channing attributed it to the "immense facility given to intercourse by modern improvements, by increased commerce and travelling, by the post-office, by the steam-boat, and

¹⁵ John B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1883-1913), I, 167-76.

¹⁶ "Remarks on Associations" in W. E. Channing, *Works* (Boston, 1875), p. 139, an article which first appeared unsigned in the *Christian Examiner*, VII (1829), 105-40. Among others, Daniel Webster likewise held that the great characteristic of the age was that "public improvements are brought about by a voluntary association and combination." Quoted in U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report for 1866*, p. 525. Harriet Martineau in *Society in America* (New York, 1837), II, 299, praised the organizations for "mechanical objects" and for indoctrinating public opinion, but saw little good in those for moral self-improvement.

¹⁷ George W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938), p. 479; Tocqueville, I, 191, II, 114-15, 117-18, 127.

especially by the press,—by newspapers, periodicals, tracts, and other publications.” And to these agencies, of course, were presently added the canal, the railroad, and the telegraph. Though physical distances grew constantly longer, new means of communication made them shorter. As Channing remarked, “The grand manoeuvre to which Napoleon owed his victories—we mean the concentration of great numbers on a single point—is now placed within the reach of all parties and sects.”¹⁸ But the will to make use of these instrumentalities needs also to be accounted for, and here the explanation lies in certain other changes in American life. The rising importance of the plain people, symbolized in politics by Jackson’s election as President, dramatized social and economic injustices hitherto unrecognized, and inspired the humane, and sometimes the victims themselves, to unite for correcting them. European example, especially that of England, also played a part, for in the Old World, too, a new tenderness was being shown for the underprivileged. Moreover, as cities increased both in number and size, voluntary effort could be more easily mobilized. People of kindred interests could be quickly assembled, agitation organized, mass meetings held, committees put to work. And besides being centers of surplus enthusiasm, cities were centers of surplus capital, supplying the principal financial sinews for joint undertakings whether to reinforce or modify the existing order.

Nowhere were the results more striking than in the field of humanitarian reform. The earlier concern for bruised and neglected souls now widened to take in bruised and neglected minds and bodies. Christian altruism combined with democratic idealism to produce what seemed to the ill-disposed an inferiority complex. Typical of the new creations were the American Temperance Society (1826), the American Peace Society (1828), the General Union for Promoting the Christian Observance of the Sabbath (1828), the American Lyceum Association (1831), the American Anti-Slavery Society (1833), and the American and Foreign Sabbath Union (1842). If to these national bodies be added countless smaller ones devoted to such aims as improving penal methods, advancing the cause of public education, and redeeming “Females who have Deviated from the Paths of Virtue,” one can understand Orestes A. Brownson’s sour comment: “Matters have come to such a pass, that a peaceable man can hardly venture to eat or drink, or to go to bed or to get up, to correct his children or to kiss his wife, without obtaining the permission and direction of some moral . . . society.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Channing, p. 139.

¹⁹ Quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., *Orestes A. Brownson* (Boston, 1939), p. 80. The best general account of these early reform organizations is Alice F. Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment* (Minneapolis, 1944).

Since every reform association bespoke a minority opinion, it had to devise means to persuade or frighten the majority into adopting the desired course of action. For this purpose the crusading groups borrowed and improved upon the methods already developed by the nonsectarian benevolent societies. The procedure quickly became standardized. As described by a contemporary, the first step was to choose an "imposing" designation for the organization; next "a list of respectable names must be obtained, as members and patrons"; then "a secretary and an adequate corps of assistants must be appointed and provided for from the first fruits of collections; a band of popular lecturers must be commissioned, and sent forth as agents on the wide public; the press with its many-winged messengers, is put in operation"; finally, "subsidiary societies are multiplied over the length and breadth of the land."²⁰ In structure the reform movements resembled the Federal political system, with local units loosely linked together in state branches and these in turn sending representatives to a national body. By 1835 the 1,200,000 members of the American Temperance Society were distributed in 8,000 local affiliates with an over-all organization in every state but one.²¹ Two years later the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose constituency was in fact strictly Northern, had grown to more than a thousand local groups and seven state associations. In addition, both of these bodies (and the American Peace Society as well) maintained youth auxiliaries and separate branches for women.

To carry on their work effectively the humanitarian societies required funds as well as moral zeal. For example, the American Anti-Slavery Society between 1836 and 1840 reported an annual revenue of from \$26,000 to \$50,000, not counting the receipts of affiliates. As in the case of kindred organizations, this financial support came partly from membership dues and from collections at public gatherings, partly from large and small gifts and bequests, and partly from the sale of publications. Publication activities, however, were designed less to raise money than to supplement oral propaganda. Every reform group fathered weekly or monthly periodicals, distributed reports of its annual conventions, and issued great quantities of leaflets and pamphlets, including fiction, songbooks, almanacs, and cartoons or "pictorial representations." In the single year 1840-41 the American Temperance Union circulated 433,000 pieces of printed matter and in the three preceding years the American Anti-Slavery Society sent out 796,000. Another practice was to pelt the government with memorials. The abolitionists' persistence

²⁰ Calvin Colton, *Protestant Jesuitism* (New York, 1836), pp. 53-54.

²¹ The statistics regarding reform societies are derived from the appropriate annual reports.

in petitioning the House of Representatives led that body to adopt a "gag rule" whose repeal ex-President John Quincy Adams finally accomplished in 1844 after a historic eight-year battle.

With varying effect the reformers also enlisted the support of church, school, and stage. At one juncture more than a thousand ministers agreed to preach annual peace sermons; efforts were made to insert favorable matter in textbooks; and such plays as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ten Nights in a Bar-room* swayed countless thousands. Use was also made of symbols and ceremonials. Olive Leaf Circles attracted female foes of war, Cold Water Armies recruited children fighters against the "Demon Rum," and for nearly everybody bazaars, parades, banners, and badges mixed fun with serious purpose. So successfully did these pioneer reformers develop the techniques of propaganda that later generations have been able to contribute little beyond taking advantage of new technological devices such as the movies and the radio. The South for the most part remained immune to the agitation, fearing lest the institution of slavery perish in an assault on other social abuses.

Some reformers, impatient of gaining their ends through the slow process of persuasion, ventured to try out their ideas in experimental communities away from the haunts of men. Others, equally ardent but more practical-minded, endeavored to dragoon the unconvinced into conformity through legislative coercion. This helps to explain the interest in petitions and also the greater attention to lobbying. One wing of the abolitionists, discarding halfway measures, launched the Liberty party. The increasing resort to political methods was a natural consequence of the swift spread of manhood suffrage in the generation before the Civil War. Parties themselves were transformed by the admission to the polls of the hitherto unenfranchised. Political chieftains learned to regiment the vastly enlarged electorate and to please and influence the mass mind. As means to this end, these years marked the extension of the spoils system to the Federal government, the growth of party machines, and the introduction of national nominating conventions and of political platforms. Campaign appeals were increasingly directed at people's emotions rather than at their reason. The voter was now attracted by such partisan symbols as the log cabin (in which William Henry Harrison was alleged to reside), by torchlight processions, and by slogans like "Fifty-four-forty or fight!" It is evident that political associations learned much from the example of the humanitarian associations.

The increased democratic emphasis in politics also facilitated the adoption of the principle of impartiality in granting incorporation rights to capitalistic

associations. In the national arena President Jackson waged victorious battle against renewing the exclusive privileges of the Second United States Bank, while in the states his followers and sympathizers warred unceasingly to abolish "any and all monopolies by legislation."²² Others supported the proposal in order to assure their equality with competitors in taking advantage of the vastly expanding opportunities in transportation, manufacturing, and finance. As a result, legislature after legislature provided for establishing corporations by general law instead of by special act, a third of the states anchoring the requirement in their constitutions.²³ Though many businesses continued to operate as unchartered associations, the legal machinery now existed for that vast growth of corporate enterprise which was eventually to dominate the American scene. The practice of obtaining a charter in a lax state in order to do business in stricter ones belongs to that later time.

With far less approval from the commercial classes, indeed against their active resistance, the rapid growth of industry begot a new type of organization, the trade union, which had long been struggling for birth. Wage earners, confronted with conditions of employment that prevented decency of living, resorted to united action in self-defense. Combining here and there in local crafts, they soon established nation-wide unions in some trades, and from 1834 to 1837 they succeeded in maintaining a national labor federation. At the peak of success, in 1836, the total membership in the five principal cities approximated three hundred thousand distributed in one hundred and sixty local unions.²⁴ Though the movement suffered severe setbacks and gained only a wavering tolerance of the courts, it nevertheless exemplified the special techniques that later set it apart from all other kinds of collective undertakings: the strike, the boycott, the sympathetic strike, picketing, the closed shop, and the trade agreement. As yet, however, labor's future in the family of voluntary associations seemed far from clear.

The zeal for joining also affected professional and intellectual workers. Here the motive was less economic—though the regulation of fees was sometimes one of the objects—than to improve common standards, foster research, and disseminate knowledge through meetings and publications. These associations differed from the older American Philosophical Society in not

²² The phrase is quoted from a "Declaration of Principles" in Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), p. 39. See also Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927), pp. 50-61.

²³ Theodore G. Gronert, *The Corporation in the State Constitutional Conventions of 1835-1860* (Fayetteville, 1924). "The North is indebted for its great wealth and prosperity to the readiness with which it forms associations for all industrial and commercial purposes," wrote George Fitzhugh in *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, 1854), p. 27.

²⁴ John R. Commons and others, *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), I, 424.

limiting the number of members and in pursuing more highly specialized interests. Some were the outgrowth of earlier local or state societies and "academies." After the American Statistical Association set the example in 1839, such kindred bodies appeared as the American Ethnological Society (1842), the American Medical Association (1847), the American Society of Engineers and Architects (1852), the National Education Association (1852), and the American Entomological Society (1859). In 1848 the American Association for the Advancement of Science was formed to unite investigators in all scientific fields. Only research workers in the humanities and social sciences failed to heed the call to national action, but these departments of learning were as yet only feebly staffed.

With one section of the population after another yielding to the associative contagion it is not surprising that the long-standing aversion to secret societies should collapse. But the collapse came after an unprecedented outburst of hostility against the principal oath-bound brotherhood.²⁵ The Antimasonic movement was rooted in the antagonism of country to town, where most of the lodges were to be found; in objections of the orthodox to the order's diluted Christianity; in lower-class resentment against the well-to-do, who usually composed the membership; and in fear of the boastful claims of Masons to a controlling influence in political and economic life. The spark that set off the explosion was the abduction and alleged murder in 1826 of William Morgan of Batavia, New York, who, having become dissatisfied with the fraternity, had written a book to expose its secrets. Though Morgan's disappearance was plainly the work of overzealous individuals, popular prejudice refused to make any distinction. The smoldering anger blazed up through the rural parts of the East and edged into the South and the Mississippi Valley. Lodges in wholesale numbers perished in the flames, New York state alone losing over four hundred. Churches expelled Masonic clergymen and members; legislatures instituted investigations; Vermont and at least two other states prohibited secret-society oaths; and Rhode Island required all lodges to publish their proceedings in annual reports. Astute men such as Thurlow Weed in upstate New York and Thaddeus Stevens in Pennsylvania saw an opportunity to use the movement as a rallying point for the forces opposed to Jackson. So far did these political opportunists carry the Antimasons from their original purpose that in 1832 William Wirt, the party's first and only presidential nominee, actually avoided denouncing the order. The Antimasons won only Vermont's seven electoral votes.

²⁵ This account is based largely on McCarthy, "Antimasonic Party"; Ludlum, pp. 88-89, 101-111; Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1918), pp. 337-43; Emerson Davis, *The Half Century* (Boston, 1851), pp. 163-68; and J. M. Foster, "Secret Societies and the State," *Arena*, XIX (1898), 233-34.

Though the political antagonism toward Masonry (or oath-bound societies) lived on for several years in a few states, and though as late as 1882 a National Christian Association Opposed to Secret Societies erected a monument to William Morgan at Batavia with the inscription "Murdered by the Masons," the election of 1832 marked a decisive turning point in the American attitude toward oath-bound associations. Even if the Antimasonic party had not been betrayed by its professed friends, it could have displayed little strength, for it had not correctly diagnosed the malady. What had really offended democratic sensitiveness was not the secrecy but the exclusiveness. Just as people wished to multiply economic corporations through a general system of chartering, so they desired to have enough fraternal organizations for all who cared to join.²⁶ The plain citizen sometimes wearied of his plainness and, wanting rites as well as rights, hankered for the ceremonials, grandiloquent titles, and exotic costumes of a mystic brotherhood. Moreover, the impersonality of city life put a premium on the comradeship thus afforded. Lodge membership might also help one's business or political ambitions. Add to these motives the financial advantages usually accruing from sickness and death benefits, and the proliferation of fraternal associations following the decline of the Antimasonic crusade is not hard to understand. Henceforth secrecy and degrees and regalia became an asset instead of a liability.

Within two years of Wirt's defeat the Order of Druids was introduced from England, and the United States had created the first adult secret society of its own: the Red Men, to whose ranks only palefaces were admitted.²⁷ In 1843 the Odd Fellows, who had been in America for nearly twenty-five years, cast off their dependence on the English parent body and swiftly boosted their membership from 30,000 at the time of withdrawal to 200,000 in 1860. "The American," grumbled Thoreau mindful of his Walden solitude, "has dwindled into an Odd Fellow,—one who may be known by the development of his organ of gregariousness, and a manifest lack of intellect and cheerful self-reliance."²⁸ Meanwhile the Masons accomplished a slow recovery which before the Civil War wiped out their earlier losses, and in the colleges national Greek-letter fraternities, most of them recently founded, played an increasingly important role. The great foreign influx of these years added to the variety with the Ancient Order of Hibernians, brought over by Irish

²⁶ Thus, Massachusetts *Senate Document*, no. 87 (1836), 42, speaks of the "obvious and intimate relation between the exclusive selfishness of secret, oath bound societies and the monopolies and exclusive privileges of special legislation."

²⁷ For these and the other oath-bound societies, see Albert C. Stevens, comp., *The Cyclopædia of Fraternities* (New York, 1899).

²⁸ Henry D. Thoreau, *Cape Cod and Miscellanies*, in *Complete Works* (Boston, 1929), pp. 364–65. Apparently contemporaries used the term "Odd Fellow" as synonymous with lodge member. See also Fitzhugh, pp. 44, 68.

Catholics in 1836, and with the B'nai Brith (1843) and similar bodies formed by German Jews after arriving.²⁹ The foes of immigration returned the compliment by churning up nativist and anti-Catholic sentiment through such secret societies as the Order of United Americans (1844), the United American Mechanics (1845), the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner (1849), and the Brotherhood of the Union (1850). Even the total-abstinence forces now resorted to oath-bound orders, setting afoot the Sons of Temperance (1842), the Templars of Honor (1845), and the Good Templars (1851). Within eight years the Sons numbered 6,000 lodges and 245,000 members, a larger total than that of either the Odd Fellows or the Masons.³⁰ Secret associations, though late in gaining respectability, were in America to stay.

IV

The progress in associationalism before the Civil War was a prelude to far greater advances in the years to come. All the earlier favoring conditions now operated with magnified force. Cities were bigger, more numerous, and more generally distributed throughout the land. They were also bound together by swifter communications: the improved telegraph, the expanding web of railways, the invention of the telephone, and, somewhat later, the coming of the motorcar and the radio. Newspapers not only grew in number and circulation but, themselves obeying the associative impulse, developed chains, syndicated features, and co-operative news-gathering methods, thereby further increasing the tendency to common thought and action. Moreover, a heightened sense of nationality followed the Civil War. That struggle decided that the Americans were to be one people, not two. The effect was to redouble Northern endeavors to plan far-flung undertakings, while the Southerners, no longer hampered by their "peculiar institution," soon fell into line. So thoroughly did the "habit of forming associations"—James Bryce's phrase—interpenetrate American life that it becomes possible to understand practically all the important economic and social developments merely by examining the activities of voluntary organizations.³¹

Capitalistic associations, battenning on fast-growing markets and access to cheap and abundant raw materials, assumed dinosaur proportions. Within

²⁹ The role of ethnic associations in America has never been carefully studied, though some suggestive references appear in Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York, 1921), pp. 119-44, 287-96. Most immigrant societies seem to have been nonsecret.

³⁰ John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York, 1925), p. 211.

³¹ Bryce, echoing Tocqueville, remarked, "Associations are created, extended, and worked in the United States more quickly and effectively than in any other country." *The American Commonwealth* (2-vol. ed., London, 1888), II, 239.

eight years after the peace a House investigating committee reported, "This country is fast becoming filled with gigantic corporations wielding and controlling immense aggregations of money and thereby commanding great influence and power."³² In the years ahead they strove for monopolistic dominion. By means of pools, rate agreements, interlocking directorates, trusts, mergers, holding companies, and other devices, legal or illegal, they reduced large sections of the population to a species of economic vassalage. The United States Steel Corporation, formed in 1901, combined under one ownership 228 companies scattered in 127 cities and 18 states, and possessed a capitalization nearly thirty times as great as that of the Second United States Bank. Three years later 318 consolidations (not including transportation lines and other public utilities) represented the fusing of nearly 5300 separate companies.³³

The wage earners responded by extending and strengthening their own associations. They established many new national unions, they experimented for a time with the one-big-union idea as members of the Knights of Labor, and in 1881 they joined in founding the more successful American Federation of Labor, a body which by 1900 represented 82 national unions, 16 state federations, 118 city central unions, and 550,000 individual members.³⁴ These gains were made in the teeth of determined opposition from employers' associations, legislatures, and courts. The farmers, who likewise blamed Big Business for their ills, also resorted to organization against the foe, first in the Patrons of Husbandry or Grangers, and then in the more aggressive Northern and Southern Farmers' Alliances. The latter groups established the People's party to accomplish their political demands and, by polling twenty-two electoral votes and a million popular votes in 1892, frightened the Democrats into making free silver their battle cry in the next election. Most important of all, these agrarian bodies accustomed the agricultural population to pressure-group tactics and thereby paved the way for such associations as the National Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Nonpartisan League, and the American Farm Bureau Federation in the next century. Aided by modern means of communication, the once isolated husbandman thus also became a joiner.

Meanwhile, in the crowded urban centers, humanitarians intensified their earlier efforts and discovered many new outlets for reform zeal. Representative of these multifarious interests were the American Prison Association, the National Conference of Social Work, the Women's Christian Temperance

³² Quoted in James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1892-1919), VII, 19.

³³ John Moody, *The Truth about the Trusts* (New York, 1904), p. 486.

³⁴ Lewis L. Lorwin, *The American Federation of Labor* (Washington, 1933), pp. 484, 488.

Union, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, all formed in the 1870's, and the American Red Cross Society, the National Divorce Reform League, the National Arbitration League, and the Indian Rights Association, which came along in the 1880's. In many of these bodies women were the leading spirits, but they also established special groups for their own advancement. The two nation-wide suffrage associations, founded in 1869, signified one type of activity. Less militant members of the sex congregated in local clubs for self-culture, which became so plentiful by 1889 as to warrant the creation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

With even greater energy associations were multiplied for the promotion of professional and research interests.³⁵ Industry's competitive demand for technological improvement as well as the ambition of universities to enlarge the sum total of human knowledge caused specialization increasingly to dominate the individual worker and the societies he established. Sometimes the organizations arose out of a process of peeling away from an older trunk. Thus the American Society of Civil Engineers, which had grown out of the Society of Engineers and Architects (1852), bore a numerous offspring after the Civil War in the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the National Association of Power Engineers, the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the American Order of Steam Engineers, the American Society of Naval Engineers, and the American Railway Engineering Association, with more to follow in the twentieth century. In some scientific branches a brand-new start was necessary, as in the case of the American Chemical Society (1876) and the American Association of Anatomists (1888). Scholars and practitioners in nonscientific fields followed suit. Soon librarians, archaeologists, modern-language specialists, historians, economists, mural painters, and musicians, not to mention other groups, were paying dues, electing national officers, and flocking to conventions with their kind.

But perhaps the most striking upsurge of voluntary associations was in the domain of leisure. Confronted with an increasing amount of idle time because of shorter hours of work and other favoring conditions, most people met the situation by banding together with others and having their use of leisure more or less arranged for them. Oath-bound brotherhoods now issued forth into what a contemporary called the "Golden Age of fraternity."³⁶ Between 1865 and 1880 seventy-eight beneficiary fraternal orders were

³⁵ For a comparative study of the methods and social role of professional and business organizations, with some attention to labor associations and farm co-operatives, see Carl F. Taesch, *Professional and Business Ethics* (New York, 1926).

³⁶ W. S. Harwood, "Secret Societies in the United States," *North American Review*, CLXIV (1897), 622-23.

founded; between 1880 and 1890 a hundred and twenty-four; and between 1890 and 1901 three hundred and sixty-six more.³⁷ Though many of them soon died, well over 5,000,000 names of men and women were inscribed on the rosters of 70,000 local lodges as the century closed, not including the 150,000 college youth distributed among 900 chapters of fraternities and sororities.³⁸

These secret orders did not monopolize the field, for even apart from women's clubs three other sorts of leisure-time groups made their appearance. For one thing, the Civil War stimulated both sides to establish commemorative associations of the survivors, with parallel women's societies and, in the course of time, special organizations for the veterans' sons and daughters. The largest of this numerous brood, the Grand Army of the Republic, had 350,000 members in 1887.³⁹ The centennial celebrations of Revolutionary events, starting with Concord and Lexington in 1875, were responsible for a second flock of associations. If many persons wished merely to live off the unearned increment of ancestral reputations, others felt a need to assert the old American spirit against the engulfing tide of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Among the more noteworthy of these pedigreed clans were the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the Society of Mayflower Descendants, all dating from the late eighties and early nineties. Less exclusive in appeal was the third group of organizations, those mirroring the increasing popularity of sports. Foreshadowed by the National Association of Base Ball Players (1858), the contagion now spread to nearly all other games and forms of exercise—archery, cycling, canoeing, college football, lawn tennis, croquet, polo, golf. Generally the object was either to standardize rules of play for amateurs or to put the contests on a professional and commercial basis. By these various means the American people, after a long period of hesitation and soul-searching, extended the associative principle to their hours of relaxation and rest.

V

To the vast and intricate mosaic of organizations evolved during the nineteenth century the twentieth has as yet added little new or significant. Popular alarm at the overweening power of capitalistic combinations has,

³⁷ Balthasar H. Meyer, "Fraternal Beneficiary Societies in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, VI (1901), 655-56; Walter Basye, *History and Operation of Fraternal Insurance* (Rochester, 1919), pp. 209, 211.

³⁸ Stevens, p. xv; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City* (New York, 1933), pp. 209, 211.

³⁹ Noel P. Gist, *Secret Societies, a Cultural Study of Fraternalism* (Columbia, Mo., 1940), p. 38.

however, caused both the state and national governments to place increasing curbs on their freedom of action, while labor's right to organize and to pursue trade-union methods has at last been accorded full legal sanction. Secret fraternal orders reached their peak membership of over ten million in the mid-1920's, after which they began to decline, partly perhaps as a result of such competing attractions as the cheap motor car, the talking movies, and the radio.⁴⁰ A contributing factor was the rapid growth of International Rotary and similar businessmen's luncheon clubs, founded in the second decade of the century. For the younger generation a new type of association appeared in the Boy Scouts (1910). The irrepressible spirit of gregariousness sometimes broke out also in unexpected forms. Thus the period since the first World War has seen the rise of the National Horseshoe Pitchers' Association, the Guild of Former Pipe Organ Pumpers, the Circus Fans' Association of America, the American Sunbathing Association, and the Association of Department Store Santa Clauses.

Related to the associative movement is the revamping of the calendar through the device of special "weeks." According to one enumeration, the United States year consists of a hundred and thirty-five weeks instead of the traditional fifty-two—an increase that involves, of course, considerable duplication.⁴¹ Both benevolence and self-interest explain this new dimension of time. Among the designated occasions which all good citizens are expected to observe are Better Speech Week, Courtesy Week, Fire Prevention Week, Honesty Week, Thrift Week, and Walk-and-Be-Healthy Week, while the voice of the advertiser rings through Apple Week, Book Week, Canned Foods Week, Linoleum Week, and Pharmacy Week. Thus was devised a mechanism for reaching into the family circle and getting people to think and act in the same way when the ties of mutual interest would not support a dues-paying organization and the holding of national conventions. The more influential "weeks" were publicized with badges, seals, stickers, and posters. It seemed as if social inventiveness had reached its limit.

VI

"At the name of a society," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "all my repulsions play, all my quills rise and sharpen." As he saw it, men clubbed together on the principle: "I have failed, and you have failed, but perhaps together we shall not fail."⁴² The historical record shows, however, that his

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

⁴¹ Boston *Herald*, Oct. 14, 1927.

⁴² Robert M. Gay, *Emerson* (Garden City, N. Y., 1928), p. 142; Ralph W. Emerson, *Works* (Boston, 1883-87), III, 252.

uncompromising stand against the herd instinct neither persuaded his countrymen nor fairly delineated their motives and accomplishments. Out of the loins of religious voluntarism in colonial times had issued a numerous progeny, each new generation outstripping the old in the number and variety of its creations. These instrumentalities grew out of deep-felt human desires as a highly dynamic society continually disclosed fresh needs and opportunities. "From a handful of individuals we have become a nation of institutions," Henry Watterson once summarized his country's history.⁴³ It usually denoted strength rather than weakness when one man multiplied himself by uniting with others. Restating Emerson's thought with keener insight, William Ellery Channing declared, "Men, it is justly said, can do jointly what they cannot do singly."⁴⁴ It is true, of course, that the associative impulse tended to feed upon itself, sometimes leading to an infatuation that provoked the mirth of onlookers, but such excesses should not be permitted to hide the deeper significance of this powerful force in American life.

As a result of its workings, every community large or small has assumed a cellular structure, with these subdivisions of humanity intricately interlaced and overlapping. In the course of years there has evolved what Channing more than a century ago called "a sort of irregular government created within our constitutional government."⁴⁵ Day in and day out, this irregular government, by enlisting the constant participation of its members, stirs more interest and often possesses greater reality than the constitutional authority. Nor is comparison with the political state a mere figure of speech, for voluntary bodies actually exhibit many of the attributes of government. Despite the diversity among associations as to function and scope, the fact of membership usually generates a pride of belonging and a sense of devotion that endow their purposes and decisions with an obligatory character. It is as though the emotional fervor, even the bigotry, once centering in religious fellowship, has pervaded the labor union, the National Association of Manufacturers, the political party, and the Daughters of the American Revolution. Moreover, such organizations generally operate on the basis of a constitution or charter, possess both elected and appointed officials, prescribe standards of conduct, compel obedience to rules and regulations by means of fines, suspensions, and expulsions, and impose a species of taxation in the guise of dues and assessments. Their fiscal operations frequently eclipse those of govern-

⁴³ Quoted in John P. Davis, *Corporations* (New York, 1905), I, 4 n.

⁴⁴ Channing, 139.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 149. For recent observations on this aspect of associations, see Guy Stanton Ford, *On and Off the Campus* (Minneapolis, 1938), 149-151; Beardsley Ruml, *Government, Business and Values* (New York, 1943), pp. 5-29; and Charles E. Merriam, *Public and Private Government* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 3-19.

mental units. Though this fact is most familiar in the case of business corporations, the financial aspect of religious, political, and other associations may also be considerable. An authority writing on fraternal benefit societies in 1919 cited their aggregate annual income at \$165,000,000 and placed the total amount of insurance carried on members' lives at \$9,500,000,000.⁴⁶

These irregular or unofficial governments have external as well as internal relations. It might seem that voluntary bodies could be divided between those which mind their own business and those which mind other people's business, but the distinction is unreal since all in some degree impinge upon the life about them. Recreational, no less than professional and learned, groups seek to maintain codes of ethics and levels of technical competence that indirectly affect the public at large. Capitalistic and labor organizations influence general conditions of employment and, when locked in battle, may disrupt the normal existence of a community. Moreover, nearly all associations resort at times to pressure tactics in relation to government. Though designed primarily for other purposes, the Methodist Church fronted the movement for prohibition, the League of American Wheelmen in its day induced many states to provide good roads for bicycle riders, and the G. A. R. labored successfully for higher Federal pensions. In recent times such activities have assumed increasing importance. In 1942 a total of 628 organizations maintained offices in Washington to supply arguments and witnesses for or against various types of legislation. Ten spoke for financial groups, eleven for foreign-language memberships, thirteen for lawyers' bodies, fourteen for youth or young people's interests, fifteen for minority elements, twenty-four for different phases of education, forty-two for labor, forty-two for one or another kind of political or economic creed, forty-three for veterans' or military organizations, and one hundred and eighty-two for business and manufacturing.⁴⁷ And this enumeration omits political parties, which operate the machinery that alone can gratify the desires of the pressure groups. It hardly needs to be said that these lobbying activities sometimes injure the public welfare. Only as long as all communities of interest are able to express themselves freely and adequately can the democratic process be regarded as working effectively. The problem is one of balance, just as bodily health depends upon a due equilibrium of physiological factors.

Emerson's objections to group undertakings rested largely on the view that the many cramp and diminish the single individual, stealing away his

⁴⁶ Basye, p. 16.

⁴⁷ *United States News* (Washington), July 24, 1942, p. 19. According to E. Pendleton Herring, *Group Representation before Congress* (Washington, 1929), p. 19, the total was at least 530 in 1929.

self-reliance as the price of acting in concert with others.⁴⁸ But, as Burke once observed, "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue, and every prudent act, is founded on compromise and barter."⁴⁹ Moreover, nothing has been more characteristic of voluntary bodies than the proneness of dissidents to exercise what the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors recently termed "the God-given right of every American to resign, tell why, and raise hell."⁵⁰ A process of splitting and splintering, or what sociologists like to call "schismatic differentiation," has marked the course of practically every sort of association.⁵¹ The history of religious denominations teems with instances, but hardly more so than that of humanitarian movements, labor organizations, political parties, and patriotic societies. Sometimes the cause is an attitude of dogma-eat-dogma, sometimes the rivalry of ambitious leaders, sometimes a wrangle over such questions as eligibility rules for membership or the methods of implementing accepted objectives. Oath-bound orders have been torn by similar ructions. For example, the Royal Order of Foresters was the English progenitor of at least ten American brotherhoods containing the words "Foresters" or "Forestry" in their titles.⁵² If internal strife has wasted a good deal of associational energy, it also indicates the existence of a vigorous spirit of nonconformity.

Probably a graver criticism of voluntary bodies than Emerson's is the extent to which men do things as members of an organization that they would be ashamed or afraid to do as individuals. The outstanding example is afforded by capitalistic groups, where a sense of fractional responsibility often leads a stockholder or official to sanction acts contrary to his usual standard of ethics. But business and financial corporations are impersonal institutions to a degree that most associations are not, and in recent years, as we have seen, the power of government has been increasingly invoked to keep them within their legitimate bounds. The same element of fractional responsibility enters into ephemeral organizations that are avowedly law-defying. Nearly every great national crisis has produced one or more of them: the Knights of the Golden Circle and other Copperhead societies during the Civil War; the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camelia, and similar Southern bodies in the period of Reconstruction; the modernized Ku Klux Klan that skyrocketed into prominence after the first war with Germany; and the

⁴⁸ Emerson, I, 264-65, III, 253, and elsewhere.

⁴⁹ Edmund Burke, *Speeches and Letters on American Affairs* (London, 1908), 130-31.

⁵⁰ *Boston Globe*, July 9, 1943.

⁵¹ Merle Curti cites examples of reform associations in "The Changing Pattern of Certain Humanitarian Organizations," *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, CLXXIX (1935), 59-61.

⁵² Stevens, pp. 127, 223; Gist, p. 47.

jumble of Silver Shirts, Black Shirts, White Shirts, United States Fascists, Christian Fronters, and German-American Bundists who skulked in the shadows cast by the Great Depression and the ideological conflict over totalitarianism. All these were secret oath-bound companies carrying on treasonable or terroristic activities and usually having military features and aims. In every case the members profited by the public's habituation to the principle of freedom of association, but sooner or later their lawless exploits brought down upon their heads the destroying sword of constituted authority.

The career of these few, short-lived organizations stands in marked contrast to the great and continuing role in society played by the numerous secret fraternal orders. These with rare exceptions have acted as bulwarks of conservatism, their constant endeavor being to emphasize conventional moral and ethical standards, transmit existing social values, and avoid entangling alliances with political movements. Furthermore, as a writer in the *Century Magazine* once pointed out, their very existence has constituted a "great American safety-valve for these ambitions for precedence which our national life generates, fosters, and stimulates, without adequate provision for their gratification."⁵³ The burden of championing minority rights and unpopular causes has been borne by other types of association, notably humanitarian, labor, and reform bodies. These have helped to educate the public to the need for continuing change and improvement and in their aspect as pressure groups have done much to keep legislatures and political parties in step with the times.

Considering the central importance of the voluntary organization in American history there is no doubt it has provided the people with their greatest school of self-government. Rubbing minds as well as elbows, they have been trained from youth to take common counsel, choose leaders, harmonize differences, and obey the expressed will of the majority. In mastering the associative way they have mastered the democratic way.⁵⁴ Moreover, through what Professor Julius Goebel has called "the creative magic of mere association," they have learned to conduct most of the major concerns of life, spiritual, economic, political, social, cultural, and recreational.⁵⁵ To this fact James Bryce attributed the high level of executive competence he found everywhere in America—talents which he likened to those possessed by "administrative rulers, generals, diplomatists."⁵⁶ By comparison, the much

⁵³ Walter B. Hill, "The Great American Safety-Valve," *Century*, XLIV (1892), 383.

⁵⁴ For an early statement of this view, see a quotation from Charles J. Ingersoll's *A Discourse Concerning the Influence of America on the Mind* (Philadelphia, 1823) in the *North American Review*, XLII (1824), 168–69.

⁵⁵ The quoted phrase is from the introduction to Livermore, p. xv.

⁵⁶ Bryce, II, 40, 44, 239–40, 407–408, 516.

vaunted role of the New England town meeting as a seedbed of popular government seems almost negligible. The habits so engendered have armed the people to take swift and effective steps in moments of emergency. On the advancing frontier the pioneers joined together for house-raising, for protecting squatters' rights against lawful claimants, for safeguarding the community against desperadoes, and for allied purposes.⁵⁷ In times of war impromptu organizations arise as if by spontaneous generation to invigorate the national will and to supplement the government's military measures in a thousand ways. This instinctive resort to collective action is one of the strongest taproots of the nation's well-being.

It was with calculated foresight that the Axis dictators insured their rise to power by repressing or abolishing political, religious, labor, and other voluntary groups. They dared not tolerate these guardians of the people's liberties and, at the very least, regarded them, in Hobbes's phrase, as "worms within the entrails of a natural man," detracting from the absolute allegiance which they believed citizens to owe to the state. Hence joiners were among the earliest casualties of the totalitarian system. But under a reign of freedom self-constituted bodies have seldom been a divisive factor and never for long. Reaching out with interlocking membership to all parts of the country, embracing all ages, classes, creeds, and ethnic groups, they have constantly demonstrated the underlying unity that warrants diversity. They have served as a great cementing force for national integration.

⁵⁷ See Frederick J. Turner's discussion in *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 343-44.

England the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom

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WHEN did the medieval idea of the solidarity of Christian Europe as against the Turk break down? When did European statesmen and publicists "recognize" Turkey as a power lawfully constituted and hence fit for Christian states to negotiate with on equal terms? Charrière, De Maulde-la-Clavière, Nys, and Jorga, whose works are standard for the early relations of Turkey with the European states, believe that "the common corps of Christendom"¹ was more or less finally dissolved during the Reformation.² In their view, by 1600 or before, European diplomacy had become thoroughly secularized; European statesmen had got into the habit of negotiating with the infidel on the same basis as with any nominally Christian power, *i.e.*, with an eye solely to dynastic and national expediency. The medieval idea of Christian unity and the unlawfulness of alliance outside the Christian fold still figured as a "*formule de chancellerie*," but "*en fait, les États musulmans sont entrés dans le concert diplomatique des nations chrétiennes*."³ Or, as Nys, the authority on international law, puts it, "*Dès la première moitié du XVI^e siècle, se trouvait implicitement affirmée cette grande vérité que le droit des gens s'étend au delà des limites tracées par un culte déterminé*."⁴

Insofar as they touch on the above questions at all, the historians of the special English phase of the subject tend to share this view. The main facts emerging from the studies of Pears, Brown, Read, Rawlinson, Rowland, and Horniker⁵ are that the English government of the sixteenth century

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¹ Sir Thomas More's phrase which is obviously an English rendering of the Latin *Corpus Christianum*.

² Ernest Charrière's thesis (*Négociations de la France dans le Levant* [Paris, 1848-53], I, xv-xvi) is that the French monarchy was obliged to seek an alliance with the Turk and thus to abandon the idea of Christian unity in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe against Charles V. Nicholas Jorga believes (*Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* [Gotha, 1908-13], III, x, 76-77) that Christian recognition of the Turk "*als Mitglied des neuen europäischen Staaten-systems*" came during the reign of Solymán. Marie A. R. De Maulde-la-Clavière (*La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* [Paris, 1891], I, 70-91) shows that most of the Christian states were negotiating with the Turk as an equal in Machiavelli's day.

³ De Maulde-la-Clavière, I, 90.

⁴ Ernest Nys, *Les Origines de droit international* (Harlem, 1894), p. 163.

⁵ Edwin Pears, "The Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte," *English Historical Review*, VIII (1893), 439-66; Horatio Brown, *Venetian Calendar*, 1581-1591, pp. xxix-xlvi; Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham* (Oxford, 1925), III, 225-30; Hugh G. Rawlinson, "The Em-

entered into regular political as well as commercial intercourse with the Porte, and deliberately sought a military alliance with the latter against Christian Spain. Pears goes so far as to say that "the idea of an alliance with the Porte [in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe] was a natural one."⁶ The only book which stresses the continuity through the Reformation of the idea of "the common corps of Christendom" is Samuel Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose*,⁷ which, however, stays within the field of English literature and drama. Chew's point of view is, on his own admission, "that of a student of English literature."

With the facts as presented by the above authorities no one can seriously take issue. Something like a "diplomatic revolution" did certainly occur in the relations between the Christian powers and the Turk during the sixteenth century. Beyond dispute is the fact that before the century was out practically all the Christian powers had established embassies at Constantinople and on occasion sought Turkish military aid against Christian rivals. But the question which still remains to be answered is whether (by contemporary political and legal standards) the new diplomacy was considered to be respectable or not. Chew has brilliantly shown that Tudor literary opinion was still dominated to a large extent by the medieval attitude toward the problem. But what of the publicists, the official clergy, and especially the statesmen who personally engaged in the new diplomatic practice?

The evidence—I shall refer mainly to English evidence in this article—reveals that the "official" attitude toward the Turk during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was not so far in advance of the literary and popular attitude as the above authorities would seem to suggest. The majority of European statesmen, though not unwilling to cut corners for the economic and political advantage of their respective countries, continued to measure the Turk by conventional standards. For them as for their predecessors the Turk was a species different *in kind* from Christian states whether Catholic or Protestant, a political pariah excluded by his very nature from membership in the family of European states. Those few emancipated statesmen who had no inhibitions whatever about relations with the Turk went out of their way to appear to be orthodox on the subject. In short, despite the growing secularization of European politics and the religious schism, the

bassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fourth Series, V, 1-28; Albert L. Rowland, *England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations* (Philadelphia, 1924); Arthur L. Horniker, "William Harborne and the Beginning of Anglo-Turkish Diplomatic and Commercial Relations," *Journal of Modern History*, XIV (1942), 289-316.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

⁷ Published in New York, 1937.

idea of "the common corps of Christendom" continued to hold its ground to an astonishing degree in official as in other circles. The peace treaties, diplomatic correspondence, treatises on international law (such as there were), and pronouncements official or otherwise of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, all testify to this conclusion.

English peace treaties and diplomatic correspondence of the period from 1500 to 1650 reflect to a much larger extent than is commonly realized the politico-religious ideology of the Middle Ages. Despite almost constant warfare between the Christian states and the alliance of several of these with the Turk, the idea of the solidarity of Christendom as against the infidel still received expression, though to be sure less frequent expression as time went on, in the diplomatic documents. We should be mistaken, of course, if we were to suppose that diplomatic language constitutes an infallible index to the political ideology prevailing at a given moment. Only too often diplomatic language serves as a cloak for ulterior designs, or at any rate gives expression to conventional attitudes which reproduce poorly current political practice. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that diplomatic language, however stilted, does to some extent reflect the contemporary climate of political opinion. The fact that certain medieval words and phrases appear frequently in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century, and infrequently in later diplomatic documents, is not without significance.

Words and phrases such as "Christendom," "the Christian Republic," "the Christian cause," "the common enemy" are often to be met with in the peace treaties. The preamble of the Treaty of London of 1518 is an especially good case in point. Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V, desiring ardently "*Christianaeque Reipublicae amplificationem*" and exhorted thereto by Pope Leo X, agree therein to cease their hostilities and to form a perpetual league of friendship which they hope will eventually include all the Christian powers. By common action alone can they resist effectively the designs of "the common enemy," who is much too powerful for any one Christian prince to cope with. Unless concerted action is taken, the "vaunted enemy of the Catholic Faith" will overflow into "Christian territories" and utterly destroy the Christian name. It is the primary duty of Christian princes "to propagate the Faith of Christ" and to exterminate "the enemies of the Christian name."⁸ Couched in similar phraseology is the Treaty of Calais of 1532 between England and France. Henry VIII and Francis I agree therein to pool their armaments "for the defence and conservation of our Christian religion and in order to resist the efforts and damnable enterprises of the

⁸ Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, XIII, 624.

Turk, the ancient common enemy and adversary of our faith.”⁹ Hypocritical in part these treaties most certainly were, for to the signatories the balance of power within Christendom was of more immediate concern than the Turkish menace from without. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the reference to the latter as entirely a sham. At the very least it proves that the signatories were eager to appear as the proponents of a united Christendom.

After the break with Rome the treaties continue to reflect, though to a decreasing degree, this idea. The expression “Christian Republic” (*Respublica Christiana*) appears in the Treaties of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)¹⁰ and Troyes (1564),¹¹ in the treaty between James I and Philip III (1604),¹² and in the treaty between James and Louis XIII (1610).¹³ The phrase “the peace of the Christian world” also appears frequently,¹⁴ likewise “Christian territories.”¹⁵ In these treaties the Turk is not always referred to by name, but the inference is clear. The Christian powers, between whom war is essentially civil war, must settle their differences that they may take common action against the infidel.¹⁶ As the Treaty of Vervins (1598) reads, war between Christian brothers gives “the common enemy of the Christian name” (*le commun Ennemi du nom Chrétien*) his opportunity.¹⁷

The early treatises on international law reflect a similar ideology. To Alberico Gentili, William Fulbeck, Hugo Grotius, and Richard Zouche¹⁸ the Turk was still a species different in kind from the Christian powers, if not under natural law, at any rate under divine law. Despite their attempt to divorce international law from theology—“let the theologians keep silence about a matter [the Turkish matter] which is outside of their province,”

⁹ Printed in *Archaeological Journal*, X (1853), 340–41.

¹⁰ Jean Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique*, V (1), 31.

¹¹ “*ad Dei Optimi Maximi Honorem & Gloriam, totius Reipublicae Christianae Beneficium, necnon & suorum Regnorum ac Subditorum communem Salutem Commodum & Utilitatem.*” Rymer, XV, 640.

¹² *Ibid.*, XVI, 618.

¹³ Dumont, V (2), 149.

¹⁴ As, for example, in the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560): “*Orbisque Christiani Quietem ac Tranquillitatem.*” Rymer, XV, 593.

¹⁵ “*Provinces de la Chrétienté*” (Treaty of Vervins, 1598, Dumont, V(1), 561); “*Christianae Provinciae*” (treaty between James I and Philip III, Rymer, XVI, 617).

¹⁶ This is implied in the long introductory passage of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, and clearly stated in the Treaty of Vervins and the treaty between James I and the archduchess of Austria (1623; Dumont, V(2), 434).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V(1), 561.

¹⁸ Gentili (1552–1608) was an Italian Protestant refugee who lived in England the greater part of his life. He was appointed reader in civil law at Oxford, practiced law in London, and on several occasions was consulted by the English government. The two treatises which have established his reputation as a pioneer in the field of international law are his *De legationibus* (1585), a treatise on the rights and duties of ambassadors, and his *De iure belli* (1588–89). Fulbeck (1560–1603?) was a doctor of civil law, a member of Grey’s Inn, and one of the outstanding legal writers of his time. Zouche (1589–1660) was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and for a time judge of the admiralty. His *Iuris et Iudicii Fecialis, sive, Iuris Inter Gentes* (1650) is one of the most important early treatises on international law. Grotius needs no introduction.

Gentili asserts¹⁹—their thinking vis-à-vis the Turk was still strongly colored by the theological conception of Christian unity. Gentili gave it as his opinion that infidel and Christian communities alike were included in a general *societas gentium* which was bound together by *Jus Gentium* (Zouche called it "*Jus inter Gentes*"). Taking issue with the medieval lawyer Baldus, he held that the law of nations gave to the Turk as clear a title to *dominium* as to any Christian state providing he remained at peace with his neighbors—"it is God who confers jurisdiction upon them."²⁰ Thus, Christians may not justly wage war on the Turk for religion only; men's consciences may not be forced, and "those are not without the pale of this law of nature who are victims of human liability to error."²¹ Gentili further argued the legitimacy of commerce and the exchange of embassies with the infidel.²² With these somewhat latitudinarian notions Fulbeck and Zouche concurred.²³

At the same time, however, Gentili clearly assumed the existence of a narrower league of Christian states within the *societas gentium*. War against the infidel *per se* is not natural, but it is "almost natural." "With the Saracens (who are Turks) we have an irreconcilable war . . . we constantly have a legitimate reason for war against the Turk"—not, Gentili protests, because of religion but because the Turk threatens us and seizes our possessions. Were the Turk to keep the peace, we could not legitimately oppose him, "but when do the Turks act thus?"²⁴ The inference is that although the Turk shares "our common nature" and hence is not to be regarded with the same hostility as cannibals, atheists, and pirates,²⁵ yet he comes very close to being a "natural enemy" of Christendom. Furthermore, Gentili and Zouche agree that a mili-

¹⁹ *De iure belli* (The Classics of International Law, ed. James B. Scott, Oxford, 1933), II, 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 39. The orthodox medieval view was that of Wyclif who said that Christians might lawfully attack infidels because the latter were deprived of grace and hence could possess no sovereignty. This view was, however, condemned by the Council of Constance and by Las Casas and Suarez in the sixteenth century.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 41.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 401; *De legationibus* (The Classics of International Law, ed. Scott, New York, 1924), II, 90.

²³ Fulbeck follows Gentili's line of argument closely: war may not be justly waged on infidels "because they be Infidels"—"for their infidelitie doth not deprive them of these demesnes, which they have by the Law of Nations: for the earth was not given to the faithfull onelie, but to every reasonable creature." *The Pandectes of the Law of Nations* (London, 1602), p. 40. Zouche cites Grotius and Gentili as authority for his statement "that an attack can not justly be made on those who do not embrace the Christian religion, because men can not be won over to that religion by natural arguments." *Iuris et Iudicii Feialis, sive, iuris inter Gentes* (The Classics of International Law, ed. Scott, Washington, 1911), II, 117.

²⁴ *De iure belli*, II, 56–57. Gentili draws the analogy of the Greeks for whom it was "almost natural" to contend with the barbarians. Fulbeck said that force may not be used against the Turk "unless the common weale may receive some dammage thereby." *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁵ Gentili approves of the war of the Spaniards against the Indians whose sins (cannibalism, "lewdness even with beasts") are "contrary to human nature." He also approves of war against pirates since piracy is a violation of "the common law of humanity" and inimical to "the league of human society." War may also be justly waged on atheists who "do not deserve to be called men, who divest themselves of human nature." The Turk, at any rate, does not make a mockery of human nature as these do. See *De iure belli*, II, 123–25.

tary alliance "with an infidel against another infidel or against a Christian" is unlawful, especially if from such an alliance "the heathen are likely to derive great increase of strength."²⁶ Such an alliance is reprehensible, says Gentili, quoting Peter Martyr, because it would "bring against just enemies, observers of religion, custom, and the laws of war [*e.g.*, Roman Catholic Spain whose enemy Protestant England was at the moment], those who are of a different religion . . . and very often those who are scorers of all custom and every law of war." On this ground, Gentili denounces the king of France's alliance with the Turk.²⁷ Grotius carries these opinions to their logical conclusion by calling for a general league of Christian states and a crusade.²⁸

That the English clergy also advocated Christian unity as against the Turk throughout the period in question is not perhaps surprising. Yet it was not altogether a foregone conclusion that they should have done so, for the religious schism was hardly conducive to catholic thinking. It was indeed a question in the minds of the more militant Protestants—for example, Bishop Jewel, Dean Sutcliffe, and Foxe, the martyrologist—who was "the common enemy," the Turk or the pope.²⁹ The majority of prominent churchmen, High and Low churchmen alike, clung, however, to the traditional idea of "the common corps of Christendom."³⁰ In 1565 when the Turks besieged Malta, which was defended by the Roman Catholic order of the Knights of St. John, the bishop of Salisbury (none other than Jewel, the apologist of the English church against Roman Catholicism) ordered that prayers be offered up in his diocese "for the delivery of those Christians that are now invaded by the Turk." The same year Archbishop Parker ordered that a prayer of thanksgiving be offered up in the province of Canterbury "for the delivery of the Isle of Malta." Similar prayers were enjoined the following year for the deliverance of Hungary.³¹ Foxe, for all his hatred of the pope, prayed in 1578 that Christendom be delivered from the Turk, which had swallowed up

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 401; *Iuris et Iudicii Feialis*, II, 101. Grotius, however, said that natural, if not divine, law sanctioned treaties with the infidel—"Nam id ius ita omnibus hominibus commune est, ut Religionis discrimen non admittat." *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, ed. William Whewell (Cambridge, 1853), II, 137-38.

²⁷ *De iure belli*, II, 402.

²⁸ "Illud hic addam, cum omnes Christiani unius corporis membra sint," etc. *Op. cit.*, II, 146.

²⁹ See Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, pp. 101-102, especially note. The Turk who now threatens Italy, Jewel wrote to Bullinger, March 2, 1571, "will at least bridle the ferocity of anti-christ [the pope]." *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1842), p. 239.

³⁰ For sixteenth and seventeenth century Anglican interest in Christian reunion, see my article "The Church of England and the Common Corps of Christendom," *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XVI (1944), 1-21.

³¹ *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Elizabeth* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847), pp. 519-35. I have been unable to discover whether or not English ecclesiastics also prescribed prayers of thanksgiving for Don John of Austria's great naval victory over the Turk at Lepanto in 1571. See note 49.

a large part of Europe and threatened to swallow up more.³² Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester under Elizabeth, had no doubt that the common defense of Christendom by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike was "a good and godly enterprise."³³ Hooker denounced in no uncertain terms those who argued that the church of England should differ more from Roman Catholicism than from the Turkish religion. Despite their superstitions, the papists, Hooker said, are out brothers in the universal Christian church; by drawing near to Islam "we should be spreaders of a worse infection . . . than any we are likely to draw from papists by our conformity with them in ceremonies."³⁴ Likewise Richard Montague and George Abbot, bishop of Winchester and archbishop of Canterbury respectively under James I and Charles I, than whom two greater opposites in church doctrine could not be imagined. Montague wrote that the Turks, like the Saracens of old, "are the grand professed enemies of CHRISTIANS, *Christianity*, CHRIST, *quà tales*," i.e., of Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike who, for all their differences, together constitute the universal Christian church.³⁵ As will appear later, Abbot, though a great champion of the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years' War, could not be persuaded of the legitimacy of using Turkish arms against the Roman Catholic emperor.³⁶

In Thomas Fuller's *History of the Holy War* hostility to the infidel predominates over hostility to the papacy. Frankly hostile to the medieval crusade which he regards as a papal enterprise, the great church historian is yet mindful of a "needful work nearer hand, to resist the Turk's invasion in Europe." This can be accomplished only if Christian princes bury their dissensions and act in unison "against the general and common foe of our religion"; alas, however, although "we have just cause to hope that the fall of [the Turk's] unwieldy empire doth approach," "who is not sensible with sorrow of the dissensions . . . wherewith Christian princes at this day are rent asunder."³⁷ Fuller praises the Hospitalers for their heroic defense of Rhodes against the Turks (not until 1523 did they surrender the island "to their own honor, and shame of other Christians who sent them no succour in season") and of Malta, "the [sea] bulwark of Christendom to this day," as

³² "A Sermon of Christ Crucified" at Paul's Cross, printed in *Private Prayers during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851), pp. 462-63.

³³ *The True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion* (London, 1586), pp. 196-97. In another place in the same treatise one of Bilson's interlocutors remarks that it has availed the French kings nothing to oppose the pope. Theophilus replies that "Christendome hath gotten lesse by withstanding the Turk, and yet that doth not make his cause good." *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³⁴ Thomas Hooker, *Works*, ed. John Keble (Oxford, 1845), I, 441.

³⁵ *Apello Caesarem* (London, 1625), p. 152.

³⁶ See below, n. 75, 84.

³⁷ *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (Cambridge, 1647), pp. 277, 285.

Hungary is "Christendom's best land bulwark."³⁸ He also lauds the French for being currently "most loyal to the cause"³⁹ and the king of Spain—"Yea, all West-Christendom oweth her quiet sleep to his constant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algiers. Yea, God in his Providence hath so ordered it, that the dominions of Catholic princes (as they term them) are the case and cover of the east and south to keep and fence the Protestant countries."⁴⁰

The lay sovereigns and diplomats were, if anything, more favorably disposed toward the Christian front against the Turk than the clergy. From their confidential utterances and correspondence, as well as from the peace treaties described above, it is impossible to doubt that the idea of "the common corps of Christendom" persisted as a fundamental assumption of European diplomacy until well into the seventeenth century. Many of the same men who negotiated with the Turk and even connived with him against fellow Christians continued to talk of "the common cause" and, what is more, to believe in it. For statesmen like Sir Thomas Roe, English ambassador to the Porte from 1621 to 1628, only extreme danger to the national or Protestant cause could justify a political alliance with the infidel. For others, like James I, such a policy was justifiable at no time. Others, like Queen Elizabeth, were undoubtedly less orthodox in their attitude but, for reasons of policy, felt obliged to represent themselves to the public gaze as champions of "the common cause."

Elizabeth seems to have had no scruples whatever about seeking Turkish help against Spain during the national crisis of the 1580's. She established the first permanent English embassy at Constantinople and corresponded directly with the Turkish government.⁴¹ What is even more significant, she apparently made no attempt to keep her negotiations with the Turk a secret.⁴² After the crisis had passed, however, she became extraordinarily sensitive to the stories about her relations with the Turk which she knew to be going the rounds on the Continent. If during the 1580's she was careless about public reaction to her policy, after 1588 she clearly went out of her way to placate public opinion. She may never have believed in "the common cause" as did James I, but once the fury of "the enterprise of England" had subsided, she certainly wished to appear to do so. It is as though she belatedly

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-37, 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-81.

⁴¹ See, for example, her letter to the Grand Vizier, Nov. 15, 1582, printed by Pears in the *English Historical Review*, VIII, n. 7.

⁴² See Johann W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa* (Hamburg, 1840-63), III, 427.

grasped the fact that European public opinion still regarded a Turkish alliance as a scandal and that not to take that fact into account would constitute a serious political blunder on her part. She determined therefore to pose as a champion of "the common cause" and thus to restore her good name throughout Christendom.

That Elizabeth was in a fair way to losing her good name over her Turkish policy is clear. Captain Norris put it mildly when he said that "some princes in Christendom, her Majesty's enemies and ill-willers, have charged her Highness to be a favourer of Turks and infidels."⁴³ Thanks chiefly to Spanish agents, no court of Europe, not even excluding the tsar's, was uninformed of the "scandalous" behavior of the queen. In 1582 the French court learned that the English planned to take possession of Malta and hand it over to the Turk.⁴⁴ A few years later the rumor was broadcast in Rome and Venice that the English ambassador at Constantinople was keeping the sultan informed of the affairs of the Italian states to the end that they might be subjected to the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ Father Parsons' *Responsio ad edictum Reginae Angliae*, which accused Elizabeth of conniving with the infidel against Christendom, appeared in 1592 and probably went the rounds of all the courts.⁴⁶ In 1597 Spanish envoys urged the senate of Lübeck to assist in bringing down those "troublers of all Christendom [the English] and the stirrers up of the bloody enemy, the Turk."⁴⁷ The emperor heard that the English were helping the Turk in the Polish war. A papal legate told the tsar that Elizabeth not only favored the Turk but was currently aiding him against Christian princes.⁴⁸

Small wonder that Elizabeth saw fit to make prompt representations to the courts of Europe flatly denying the above charges (some of which, of course, had a basis in fact) and protesting her fidelity to "the common cause."⁴⁹ Probably at her instigation, Harborne implored the Venetian am-

⁴³ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, London, 1883-1940; hereafter referred to as *Salisbury Papers*), XII, 549-51. This statement occurs in a letter which Norris wrote home in explanation of his decision to alter the position of his ships in the Mediterranean. He feared lest his ships be impressed by the Turk for service against Christians and thus damage "her Majesty's honour."

⁴⁴ Paul de Foix, French ambassador to Rome, to Henry III, cited in Zinkeisen, III, 427.

⁴⁵ *Ven. Cal.*, 1581-1591, no. 655. Barton was also said to have pledged his word that in 1590 the Turkish fleet, en route to Spain, might winter at Toulon (*ibid.*, no. 1004).

⁴⁶ It was in answer to this book that Francis Bacon penned an oration to the queen entitled *Observations on a Libel* (1592). Bacon sought therein to defend Elizabeth against Parsons' charge by representing as a piece of "dissembling" the king of Spain's talk of a crusade against the Turk (James Spedding, *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* [London, 1861-69], I, 186).

⁴⁷ *Salisbury Papers*, VII, 273.

⁴⁸ John Mirrik, agent for the Muscovy Company in Russia, to "your worship," 1595, *ibid.*, V, 521-22.

⁴⁹ This was not the first time that Elizabeth had taken the conventional line. In 1572 she had congratulated Philip II and the signory of Venice on the victory which God had given them over

bassador at Constantinople to do what he could to spike the afore-mentioned rumor then being circulated at Rome.⁵⁰ In 1593 Barton was instructed to do everything in his power to stop the impending invasion of imperial territory by the sultan "for that in divers parts of Christendom, as well amongst our friends as others, especially in Germany, there have been divers malicious and lying pamphlets published, wherein the only and chief imputation of this his intended invasion of Christendom is thrown upon us."⁵¹ At precisely the same time Elizabeth wrote directly to Rudolph II on the subject. None of the injuries inflicted on her by the king of Spain and the pope disturbed her more, she said in her letter, than the malicious rumor that "we have incited the most loathsome enemy of the Christian name to wage war on Christian princes."⁵² God is our witness, she wrote, that this is not true. Had not she, Elizabeth, recently done everything in her power to stay the war between Turkey and Poland?⁵³ She offered to arbitrate the impending war between the emperor and the Turk and expressed the wish that Christian princes might settle their differences and unite against the infidel.⁵⁴ Simultaneously, she instructed Christopher Parkins, her ambassador to the imperial court, to discuss the matter personally with the emperor. Parkins did so at once. At two audiences with the emperor he took exception to the rumor

the common enemy of Christianity at Lepanto (*Ven. Cal.*, 1558–1580, nos. 534, 538). In 1574 Lord North, Elizabeth's envoy extraordinary to France, had lamented the disunity currently prevailing in Christendom and prayed that one day the Christian powers might be united against the Turk (*ibid.*, no. 609).

⁵⁰ See *loc. cit.*, n. 74.

⁵¹ Queen Elizabeth to Barton, Apr. 22, 1593, *Salisbury Papers*, IV, 301–302. For reasons of expediency Thomas Edmonds, English agent in France, disclaimed to the French government any knowledge of Barton's mission. He told the French "that he only knew, that her majesty being formerly taxed to have been the cause of calling the Turk into Christendom, sent to the emperor to manifest her contrary proceedings; and that it might be, she desired still to make the same appear; which might be the said charge given to Mr. Barton." *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Thomas Birch (London, 1754), I, 251–52.

⁵² "Nos, Christiani nominis Hostem teterrimum, Magnum Turcarum Dominatorem, concitasse ad bellum Christianis Principibus inferendum."

⁵³ Strictly speaking, this was true. In a letter, Mar. 21, 1590, Elizabeth had instructed Barton to do everything in his power to prevent the sultan from going to war with Poland. However, the queen's motive in so doing was not the one which she gives in the above letter to the emperor. To Barton she writes that she no longer has any hope of Turkish assistance against Spain (during the last six years the sultan has promised much and done little), and that consequently England must have access to Poland for munitions. If the sultan "take away our weapons and warlike munitions," he will disable us and strengthen "our comon enymie [Spain]." Printed in part in *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584–1602*, ed. Sir William Foster (Hakluyt Society, London, 1931), p. 279.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth to Rudolph II, Apr. 21, 1593, Rymer, XVI, 206–208. Elizabeth's language in this letter is interesting. She says that a declaration of war by the sultan would be of concern not only to the emperor and the Christian territories adjacent to the Turk but to the whole Christian republic. She expresses her grief as to the lamentable state of the Christian world and earnestly desires that the emperor, whom God has established in the highest rank of dignity, and the other princes who bear the title of Christians and Catholics may settle their quarrels, take pity on the calamities of Christendom, and be drawn together in unity.

that her majesty "is the only cause of the Wars in Christendom." The king of Spain, he said, is primarily responsible for "the present shedding of Blood between Christians [and] the daily diminishing of the Forces of Christendom." Her majesty is as zealous for "the Public Good of Christendom" and as desirous of peace and the consequent "reuniting of Christian Forces" against the Turk as the emperor.⁵⁵ In 1600 Sir Richard Lee, ambassador to Russia, was instructed to make similar representations to the tsar. Lee was to assure the tsar on the following points: Barton's accompanying the Turkish army into Hungary was "without our knowledge and liking," and "as soon as we heard of it, we reprov'd him sharply for the same"; Barton was forced to do so by the sultan's commandment, and in any event did manage en route to procure the liberty of many poor Christian captives; absolutely false is the rumor that we assisted the Turk with ordnance "graven and marked with our arms of England." Lee was to say that the queen had never harbored "the least intent to aid the Turk against Christendom, either directly or indirectly, being a professed Christian prince, as we will answer unto Almighty God."⁵⁶

James I's attitude was much more consistent than that of Elizabeth. James was reluctant to have anything more to do with the Turk than was absolutely necessary. He cordially disliked the political affiliation with the Porte which his predecessor had established and on several occasions fought shy of receiving a Turkish embassy.⁵⁷ He stated repeatedly that he maintained an English ambassador at Constantinople for purposes of trade only, and even this he had to be persuaded to do.⁵⁸ On one occasion he declared in private conversation at table that if the sultan were to attack Christendom in large numbers, he would use all the forces of his realm to oppose him, even though the attack were in support of his son-in-law, the Prince Palatine, in the latter's fight against the emperor. In the event of such an attack he asserted that he would

⁵⁵ "*Negotiationes Christophori Parkins apud Imperatorem transactae*" (1594), *ibid.*, 252-56.

⁵⁶ *Salisbury Papers*, X, 170-71.

⁵⁷ In 1603 James said that the receiving of a Turkish embassy was not in keeping with the calling of a Christian prince (*Ven. Cal.*, 1603-1607, no. 169). On his relations with Mustapha, a Turkish envoy who arrived in England in 1607, see Chew, pp. 179-80.

⁵⁸ According to Mr. Thomas Wilson, James, at the very outset of his reign, "denied absolutely" even to sign commercial letters to the Turk, "saying, that for Merchants causes he would not do things unfitting a Christian Prince." Wilson to Sir Thomas Parry, June 12, 1603, printed in part in *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. Henry Ellis (1st Series, London, 1824), III, 84. "Yet," says Wilson, "haply he will be brought to it in time." Though James was in fact "brought to it in time," he made it clear that trade only was the reason for his maintenance of diplomatic relations with the Turk; as he told Sir Thomas Roe in 1621, the primary function of the English ambassador at Constantinople was to maintain the Levant trade "which was the first and only foundation of that correspondency which our crown hath hitherto held with that state." *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in His Embassy to the Ottoman Porte* (London, 1740), p. 2; hereafter referred to as *Negotiations*; see also *Ven. Cal.*, 1617-1619, no. 679.

not balk at fighting even against his own daughter, the princess Elizabeth!⁵⁹

The diplomatic correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe reveals James's determination to employ his ambassador at Constantinople for the defense of Christendom as a whole. In his original instructions James ordered Roe to use his utmost endeavors to divert the sultan from what appeared to be an imminent attack upon "our good brother the king of Poland, or some part of Hungary." Upon the first rumor of this expedition James had commanded Roe's predecessor to inform the sultan of "the jealousy that we and all other Christian princes had of such an attempt." Roe was to remind the sultan of this and to warn him that such an expedition "would engage us necessarily, though unwillingly, to take arms against him"—"there are no respects of friendship so dear unto us, as the obligation we have to defend those princes and states that be fellow-professors with us of the same Christian faith."⁶⁰ In March, 1622, Roe reported the mustering of a large piratical expedition at Constantinople which he thought James would be intersted to hear about "because your Majesty gave me weighty and vehement command to serve you in taking care of the general estate of Christendom."⁶¹ In April, Sir George Calvert, the king's secretary, instructed Roe to negotiate a peace between the Turk, the emperor, and Poland. Despite the obvious advantage which a Turkish victory would afford the king and his son-in-law, the Prince Palatine, at the present moment "yet is there . . . no prince nor private person more glad than he is, that God hath not suffered his [the sultan's] armies to be so victorious as there was once great occasion to fear." "Very welcome unto his Majesty" was Roe's advertisement of the sultan's last defeat.⁶² In December, Calvert congratulated Roe on his good offices in "the diverting of that [Turkish] storm from Christendom." Even though the emperor, who is disrespectful toward his majesty, gains most by this event, "the conscience of so

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1619-1621, no. 330. Not all the members of the Privy Council were of the same opinion as James. According to the Venetian ambassador, some favored a political alliance with the Turk because of the Levant trade (*ibid.*, 1603-1607, no. 175). James's hostility to the Turk antedated his accession to the throne of England. In 1601 he wrote to the shah of Persia complimenting the latter on his military success against the Turk and hinting at assistance at the earliest opportunity. He praises Sir Anthony Sherley who had returned to Europe from Persia in 1599 as the shah's ambassador to solicit aid against the Turk (printed in Evelyn P. Shirley, *The Sherley Brothers* [Chiswick, 1848], Appendix C; also in *Letters and State Papers during the Reign of King James the Sixth*, ed. James Maidment [Edinburgh, 1838], pp. 41-43). On the occasion of Prince Henry's baptism in 1594 a masque was staged at the Scottish court in which three Christian Knights of Malta and three Turks appeared as antagonists. James himself impersonated one of the knights (*The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Nichols [London, 1823], III, 355-56). See also below, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁰ *Negotiations*, pp. 2-3. Much of this was, of course, bombast. Roe is instructed not on any account to proceed to the point of war. England is unprepared and the distance is too great "without the help and coassistance of other princes, whose intentions in contributing to the general cause we know not."

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

good a work, as it concerns Christendom in general, is that in which his Majesty takes delight, without looking upon private ends.”⁶³

James would have little to do with Roe’s scheme of enlisting the services of Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years’ War. It is true that in 1624 the king, contemplating war with the emperor, appeared to be wavering in the matter and through Calvert instructed Roe to exchange courtesies with Gabor “and to stir up his [Gabor’s] friends to assist him.”⁶⁴ But James never really committed himself to the scheme and up to 1624 was certainly very loath to ally himself with a prince who was known to employ Turkish forces in his campaigns. Roe frequently complains—to James’s daughter, the queen of Bohemia, to Calvert, and to others—of his inability to use Gabor because of the king’s squeamishness about the Turk. To the queen of Bohemia he wrote in 1623: “if his Majesty would not be offended, much more might be done; but so great is the sincerity of his Christian heart, and the care of his royal honor, that he will not use scorpions to heal with.”⁶⁵ To Lord Conway he wrote after James’s death that he had been balked in his diplomatic work by “the severity of his late Majesty not to have any mixture with that prince, who carried in his armies the colors and noise of Turks.”⁶⁶ Charles I was more accommodating with regard to Gabor but he too scrupled at “drawing the Turk to any invasion in Christendom.”⁶⁷

As may be gathered from the above remarks, Roe’s own attitude toward the Turk was less clear-cut than that of James. All things considered, he would seem to be of the group which disliked treating with or making use of the Turk, but which felt that such action was at times warranted. Continental examples of what may be called the “expedient” attitude are Francis I, Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Porte from 1554 to 1562, and Father Joseph, monk-politician of the reign of Louis XIII. In the interest of national self-defense Francis I entered into close relations with the Porte, but, as Charrière says, “*presque toujours avec repugnance, et comme forcé par la nécessité.*”⁶⁸ Busbecq defended the dealings of his master, the Emperor

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104–105.

⁶⁴ Calvert to Roe, May 18, 1624, *ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 135–36. In Calvert’s letter, Apr. 11, 1622, he informs Roe that his majesty will have nothing whatever to do with Gabor (*ibid.*, p. 28).

⁶⁶ July 16, 1626, *ibid.*, p. 527.

⁶⁷ In two letters (Nov. 12, 1625, and Apr. 20, 1626) Roe is informed by Lord Conway that he may confidently proceed “to foment that diversion by Bethlem Gabor,” as his majesty fully understands its advantages (*ibid.*, pp. 461, 502, 504). However, with the scruples noted above in the text. That Charles I really took his scruple seriously is apparent from Roe’s correspondence with Conway in which it is frequently discussed.

⁶⁸ *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, I, xxxvi–xxxvii. Charrière’s documents reveal that Francis was extremely sensitive to European criticism of his policy. He was careful not to avow publicly his early dealings with the Turk (embarked on after Charles V’s smashing defeat

Ferdinand, with the Turk, but on the ground that at the moment no other policy was prudent. War with Sultan Solyman's superior forces, he believed, would involve not only Ferdinand's own subjects but "the whole of Christendom" (for which Busbecq professed a high regard) in irretrievable ruin.⁶⁹ According to Father Joseph, the Continental ambitions of the House of Habsburg justified the alliance of France with the infidel—"avant que pouvoir defendre autrui, il falloit s'asseurer soyemesme."⁷⁰ But like the others he regarded the Turkish alliance as only a temporary and odious arrangement. His ultimate ideal was a crusade against the Turk in which all the Christian states would participate.⁷¹

An early English example of the expedient attitude is that of Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1585 Walsingham instructed Harborne, envoy to the Porte, to use all his endeavors to effect a military alliance with the sultan. "Hot wars" between the king of Spain and her majesty necessitated recourse to this strategem, he said; "to divert the dangerous attempt and designs of the said King from these parts of Christendom" a Turkish attack in the Mediterranean was infinitely to be desired. Another passage in the same letter of instruction indicates, however, that Walsingham hoped for more from such a Mediterranean attack than the defeat of Spain. The attack, he said, would have the merit of setting the two "limbs of the devil" against one another, thereby enabling the true church to grow to such strength "as shall be requisite for suppression of them both." Such a war of mutual destruction would be of no small advantage "to her Majesty presently, but to all Christendom hereafter."⁷² Sir Robert Cecil was another who felt that the Turk had his uses in the national emergency but who regarded the infidel with abhorrence. In a letter to Sir George Carew in 1602 he wished the king of Spain ill success in his war against the Turk but prefaced his wish with the remark that "in Christianity I may not wish a Heathen prosperity."⁷³ Of a like mind

of the French army at Pavia in 1525) and on occasion repented his new alliance (e.g., immediately following the siege of Vienna in 1529). Not all of this can be attributed to chicanery, for there was a good deal of the knight-errant in Francis. At the time he was a candidate for the imperial throne, Francis evidently aspired to lead a crusade against the Turk and offered a plan for the partition of the Turkish Empire.

⁶⁹ *Turkish Letters*, printed in Charles T. Forster, *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* (London, 1881), I, 405-11.

⁷⁰ Louis Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph Polémiste* (Paris, 1895), p. 386. Father Joseph also argued that the Turkish alliance enabled the king of France to help the suffering Christians in the Ottoman Empire (*ibid.*, p. 384; see also *Mercure François*, XI [Paris, 1626], 118-24). In 1676 Colbert justified a plan for unloosing Turkish forces on Austria on the ground of military necessity. See Robert B. Mowat, *A History of European Diplomacy, 1451-1789* (New York, 1928), p. 202.

⁷¹ See below, n. 101.

⁷² Printed in Read, III, 226-28.

⁷³ *Letters from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew*, ed. John Maclean (Camden Society, London, 1864), p. 130.

was Sir Edward Barton. Hard-boiled man of the world that he was, and sent to Constantinople for the express purpose of concluding an alliance with the sultan, whom he accompanied on one of the Turkish campaigns against Christian Hungary, Barton nevertheless evinced a profound distaste for the Turk, and expressed the hope—in 1588 of all years—that the latter's empire "is in the wane."⁷⁴

But the most interesting example of this attitude is Sir Thomas Roe. As noted above, Roe, unlike his royal master, favored the negotiation of a military alliance with Bethlem Gabor against the emperor, knowing perfectly well that Gabor employed Turkish arms. In his opinion, the end, a Protestant victory in the Thirty Years' War, justified the means. "It is as well an honest rule in war, as a politic," he wrote to Archbishop Abbot, whose conscience was not easy in the matter,⁷⁵ "*Cuius finis est bonus, ipsum quoque bonum et iustum est; & iniquitas partis adversae* makes many things just in their opposition, that are not so in themselves." History tells us that in the past "great and wise states, such as we fear to scandalize, have, in their necessities, sought the Turks directly," e.g., Francis I and the Italian states.⁷⁶ Seeing that the Roman Catholic states were known to be conniving with the Turk, Roe especially saw "no cause to be scrupulous" in regard to Gabor.⁷⁷

Yet nowhere does Roe suggest that the Turk is a power like in kind to the Christian powers. For Roe, as for James I, the Turk was clearly of a different breed from the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant powers, *ipso facto* debarred from normal relations with "Christendom." He would employ Turkish aid only as a last resort, after all other means had failed. At best the Turks are "scorpions to heal with," and Turkish aid a "nauseous remedy." The advantage of the alliance with Gabor lay, in Roe's opinion, in the fact that it would divert a large part of the emperor's army to the Hungarian frontier without really endangering "one foot of Christian ground"; the armaments at Gabor's command, he argued, were inadequate for any-

⁷⁴ Letter of Sept. 13, 1588, printed by Pears in the *English Historical Review*, VIII, 457. Barton was of the opinion that the Turk worshipped lucre only and that "he is not bound by his law to maintain [a league of amity] longer than shall stand by his profit and advantage."

⁷⁵ "and some blemish it is unto his [Gabor's] action," Abbot wrote to Roe, June 23, 1624, "that hee useth the Turks and Tartars; which maketh christian princes afraid to joyne any way with him." *Negotiations*, p. 253. In another letter to Roe, Nov. 11, 1625, Abbot wrote, "What you write concerning the Spanish attempts to make peace with the Ottoman, I easily believe; they make conscience of nothing to gain their own ends." *Ibid.*, p. 460.

⁷⁶ June 9/19, 1625, *ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

⁷⁷ Roe to Calvert, Feb. 7/17, 1625, *ibid.*, p. 347. The emperor, Roe wrote to Abbot, makes peace with Gabor "without any scruple of disparagement, *dum sit utile*." See *loc. cit.*, n. 41. To Lord Conway he wrote, Sept. 22, 1626, "if examples were good arguments, a pope, a king of Aragon, a French, and all catholiques, have taught us, that it is not *crimen mortale* to use one enemy of God against another." *Ibid.*, p. 560.

thing but “chas[ing] the bull” (the emperor).⁷⁸ In 1626 Roe flatly rejected a plan of Gabor’s by which the Turkish army was to invade and winter in imperial territory. The Dutch envoy, he wrote to Lord Conway, “was content to persuade the actual breech, as black enough already,” but he, Roe, would not hear of it because of “His Majesty’s Christian restraint” and because it “would rather hurt the affairs of Christendom, than advance them.”⁷⁹ In 1627 the same Dutch envoy, whether with official backing or not is not clear, proposed to Roe that the subsidy intended for Gabor be given to the Turk to wage war directly on the emperor. Fearing an imminent imperial victory in Germany, Roe could not bring himself to dismiss the proposition altogether, but he obviously disliked the idea. To Sir Isaac Wake, the English ambassador at Venice, he wrote that if his lordship found “the necessity of our affairs to want such a nauseous remedy, to which I fear in the end Germany may be enforced,” he, Roe, would connive with the Turk; on the other hand, “upon God, our good cause, and our own courage, it is both more safe and noble to depend; for I have no faith in anything *ab Oriente*.”⁸⁰ To Lord Conway he wrote at the same time, “And though the *present times* do *admit scarce a possibility*; so I hope, *we are not reduced* to the *necessity* of *seeking* it, which only can *warrant* it. . . . Yet certainly, my lord, it is time to oppose all wit and strength against a bitter cup mingling for us.”⁸¹

In his earlier letters, written before the political situation in Europe became so ominous, Roe made no attempt to disguise his contempt for the Turk. He spoke of his “hatred to the unworthy enemies” and only the year after his arrival in Constantinople begged to be relieved of his post—“I am as weary of the company of infidels,” he wrote Lord Carew, “as they would be of hell.”⁸² The same year he expressed a strong desire to see a crusade launched against “this monster.” The times seemed to be particularly auspicious for such an enterprise. Contrary to popular belief, the Ottoman Empire was extremely rotten within⁸³—“this mighty monarchy hath no other walls to defend it, but the uncivil dissensions of Christian princes.” If the latter could only be made to realize this, he wrote to Prince Charles, “it would

⁷⁸ Roe pointed out that Gabor waged war mainly with cavalry without much artillery, which prevented him from besieging a place of any importance, although a great force was required to resist him (*ibid.*, p. 277, 306).

⁷⁹ Roe to Lord Conway, Sept., 1626, *ibid.*, p. 559.

⁸⁰ Jan. 26, 1627, *ibid.*, p. 741; Feb. 1, 1627, *ibid.*, p. 742.

⁸¹ Feb., 1627, *ibid.*, p. 739.

⁸² May 23, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸³ Roe was not the only Englishman of the early seventeenth century who observed the decay of the Ottoman Empire. The historian Richard Knolles also commented on “the signes of a declining state.” *A Brieve Discourse of the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1603), p. Gzzzzij.

invite them to that accord and unity, the contrary whereof hath been the only greatness and cause of the increase of this monarchy; and in this theme I could be large, but I hope your Highness shall live to see, and to act part of that, which is above all other worldly ambitions."⁸⁴ To Viscount Doncaster he spoke of the crusade as "a glorious work" and indicated a wish to help promote it—"I could be content to be a part of the fuel, to make the fire that should consume them."⁸⁵ Of course, Roe had no real hope even then of the crusade's realization. The same letter to Doncaster ends on a note of profound pessimism. "*Cui bono*" this information about the sickness of the Turk, he asks. Will the Christian powers really make use of it? "Seeing that I may burn alone," why undertake to kindle the fire which would consume the infidel? It was because of his pessimism concerning Christian unity, however, and not because of any newfangled attitude toward the Turk, that after 1622 Roe began to connive with Gabor and his infidel allies.

Final proof that the idea of Christendom was not yet a dead letter in European politics is to be found in the contemporary plans for a Christian league against the Turk. At least half a dozen such plans, not to speak of innumerable pious references to the subject, were currently advanced for the serious consideration of European statesmen. To be sure, these plans were never free of ulterior motivation nor were they realized in practice. Nevertheless, to discount them as mere verbiage, as do some modern historians, would be seriously to misread the political temper of the times. Not only was the idea of the Christian republic still congenial to the thought pattern of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it received more than ordinary attention by reason of the very real threat to the security of the European states (England less so, of course, than the empire) which the Turk then constituted.

Plans for a Christian league were very much in the air during the reign of Henry VIII, both before and after the break with Rome. Between 1515 and 1530 the English government received any number of proposals from foreign sovereigns (chiefly the pope and the emperor, whose territories were directly threatened by the Turkish advance) calling for the cessation of civil war within Christendom and concerted action against the Turk. The Eng-

⁸⁴ April 28, 1622, *Negotiations*, p. 33. Roe's desire for a crusade was shared by Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to The Hague. See letter to Roe, Aug. 19/29, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 70. Mr. Rowland Woodward, who occupied a minor position in the foreign service, expressed the hope that the Christian princes would "make benefit of" the recent death of Sultan Othman II, "so much for the good of Christendome" (Woodward to Roe, July 3, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 63). Archbishop Abbot lamented the fact "that our Christian princes are so distracted in their affections and resolutions, that they do not joyne to invade the common enemy." Abbot to Roe, Nov. 20, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸⁵ June 1, 1622, *ibid.*, p. 55.

lish government's response to these proposals was largely determined by the political situation within Christendom itself at the moment. But in no instance did Henry VIII or his advisors repudiate the idea of a Christian league, which they held to be altogether desirable if circumstances permitted. In 1518, mainly as a result of Wolsey's (and to a lesser extent, Henry VIII's) enthusiastic promotion, Leo X's plan for a crusade became the public law of Europe by the Treaty of London.⁸⁶ In 1525 Henry VIII himself proposed a universal peace so that the Christian princes might turn their attention to Luther and the Turk.⁸⁷ In 1530 he made a similar proposal. In a communication to Charles V he admitted that the Turkish peril was of concern to himself as well as to other Christian princes and that concerted action was necessary. If the Turk is not crushed at once, he wrote, he will kindle an inextinguishable flame throughout Christendom. Accordingly, he sent instructions to his envoys (those already sent to ratify the peace of Cambrai) to promise such aid as might be required of him.⁸⁸ In 1544 Henry was once again urging "an universal peace in all Christendom" so that common action might be taken against the Turk, "our common enemy."⁸⁹

The leading English advocate of a Christian league after Wolsey and Henry VIII was James Stuart. While still king of Scotland, James became interested in a Christian league. In 1589 he made the following proposition to the Danish government: Scotland, Denmark, and the German Protestant princes to form a preliminary alliance; envoys then to be dispatched by these states to the three great belligerents of Europe—Spain, France, and England

⁸⁶ For the phraseology of this treaty, see above, p. 28. For a discussion of Leo X's and Wolsey's plan, see Ludwig B. Pastor, *History of the Popes* (London, 1894-1941), VII, 213-54; Charrière, I, 10-83. In a letter to the bishop of Worcester, Apr. 11, 1518, Wolsey says that the king requires no urging to the crusade (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II(2), no. 4073). Campeggio also believed that Henry favored the expedition (*ibid.*, no. 4577). Edward Hall, the Henrician chronicler, records the festivities which attended the negotiation of the Treaty of London. One evening the English and French diplomats (Charles V did not affix his signature to the treaty until the following year) were brought into a hall in which there had been constructed an artificial rock on the top of which stood five trees. On these five trees hung the arms of the pope and emperor and the kings of England, France, and Spain "in token that al these v. potentates were joined together in one league against the enemies of Christes faith." *Chronicle*, ed. Charles Whibley (London, 1904), I, 171.

⁸⁷ Instructions to Edward Lee (envoy to Charles V), Nov., 1525, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, IV(1), no. 1798. Henry seems actually to have made a contribution for the relief of Hungary in 1526 (see *ibid.*, nos. 2243, 2260). Henry's motive in so doing was, of course, partly political.

⁸⁸ King of England's answer to proposals brought by Sieur de Mingoval (from Charles V for aid against the Turk), *Spanish Calendar*, 1529-1530, no. 248. The year before, Henry had told Charles V that he could not possibly send help against the Turk because of the great distance, his empty exchequer, and parliament's unwillingness to co-operate. He did say, however, that he would join in a crusade if the other powers did likewise (Chapuy to Charles V, Dec. 6, 1529, *ibid.*, no. 224). Norfolk told Chapuy that his master's cold response to Charles V's pleas was owing to the latter's opposition to his "divorce" (*ibid.*, no. 302, pp. 533-34).

⁸⁹ Henry VIII to Wotton, *State Papers of Henry VIII*, X, 25-26; "Council to Paget and Wotton," *ibid.*, X, 353-54.

—to negotiate a “common peace of Christendom” whose purpose it would be to prevent the further “effusion of Christian blood” and to “avert the common danger that threatens all the Christian world”; should one of the belligerents refuse these overtures, a “counterleague” to be implemented against her.⁹⁰ Now it is perfectly true that in the correspondence relating to these negotiations there is more talk of a Protestant “counterleague” against Spain than of a “common peace of Christendom,” more mention of the Spanish than of the Turkish “danger.” In 1589 James was primarily interested in establishing his claim to the English throne, to which Spain represented the main challenge, and a strong Protestant league against the latter would go far toward achieving his end. That is not to say, however, that James was insincere in urging a more general Christian league against the infidel. A contemporary’s reference to his “piety and deep regard for the Christian Commonwealth”⁹¹ was not inappropriate in view of the interest in a Christian league which James later evinced. Furthermore, it is not without significance that in 1589, the year in which he commenced the above negotiations, James composed a poem celebrating the victory of the Christians over the Turk at Lepanto. Although James makes a distinction therein between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians,⁹² he nevertheless praises highly the valor and prowess of the former. The battle of Lepanto is fought between “the baptiz’d race” and “circumcized turbaned Turks,” and the Christian victory is “a wondrous work of God.” Don John of Austria’s navy is referred to as “the Christian host” and his cause as “the public cause.”⁹³

Ten years later James again took up the cudgels for a Christian league. This time his plan—it was really more of a vague notion than a plan—was to effect the religious unity of Christendom so shattered by the Reformation. He would draw together the moderates in the Roman Catholic and Protestant camps, and by so doing free the Christian sovereigns for united action against the Turk. The story of his secret negotiations with Clement VIII, and of his attempt to conclude an alliance with the “moderate” Roman Catholic princes of Italy is too well known to repeat here.⁹⁴ Simultaneously

⁹⁰ See “Letters Patent of James VI” (June, 1590), *Warrender Papers*, ed. Annie I. Cameron (Edinburgh, 1932), II, 131–32; and “Instructions for Colonel Stewart and John Skene” (June 9, 1590), *ibid.*, 133–41. See in this connection Helen Stafford, *James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England* (New York, 1940), pp. 124–31.

⁹¹ Nicholas Kaas, Chancellor of Denmark, to James VI, July 30, 1590, *Warrender Papers*, II, 143.

⁹² In the poem God is made to say (ll. 78–79):

All christians serves my Son though not

Aright in every thing.

⁹³ The “Lepanto” is printed in *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* (Edinburgh, 1818).

⁹⁴ See Stafford, pp. 150–54, 233–46.

with these negotiations James offered "to make common cause with" the king of Denmark and the princes of the empire "to withstand the common enemy of the Christian name."⁹⁵ James's motive in so doing was again primarily political. He clearly hoped thereby to get both Roman Catholic and Protestant backing for his claim to the throne of England, which was for him an *idée fixe*. But that he was also genuinely interested in Christian unity *per se* can scarcely be doubted.⁹⁶

As king of England James continued to talk vaguely about Christian unity and a league against the Turk. At his accession he is reported to have wished to form a league of Christian princes against the infidel and to have been willing to furnish ten thousand foot soldiers for the same.⁹⁷ In a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, English ambassador to France, also in 1603, he expressed a desire for "a general council, lawfully called" to heal the religious schism, and authorized Parry to get in touch with the papal nuncio in Paris.⁹⁸ In 1604 he declared that he personally would assume the leadership of a Christian league if the other princes would do their part.⁹⁹ In the same year he asserted both by proclamation and speech to parliament that there was no prince more eager than he to assist with a truly general council, "not only out of a particular disposition to live peaceably with all states and princes of Christendom, but because such a settled amity might by an union in religion, be established among Christian princes, as might enable us all to resist the common enemy."¹⁰⁰

The negotiations for the marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish infanta furnished the occasion for a renewal of James's peace plans. James and his minister, Francis Bacon, evidently hoped that the Spanish match might be used as the basis for a general Christian pacification and a league against the Turk. Or at least so the memorandum which Bacon submitted to the king in March, 1617, would seem to indicate. Bacon urges therein that Sir John Digby be instructed to negotiate an alliance between the kings of England and Spain which shall serve as "a beginning and seed . . . of a holy

⁹⁵ *Warrender Papers*, II, 358-59.

⁹⁶ Professor Mackie is decidedly of this opinion. See his "The Secret Diplomacy of King James VI in Italy prior to His Accession to the English Throne," *Scottish Historical Review*, XXI (1924), 270-71; also *Negotiations between King James VI. & I. and Ferdinand I. Grand Duke of Tuscany* (London, 1927), pp. xxi-xxiii.

⁹⁷ *Ven. Cal.*, 1610-1613, no. 585. Can James have been influenced by Sir Edwin Sandys whose *Europae Speculum* (published only two years before) advocated a crusade as a means of restoring Christian unity?

⁹⁸ *Salisbury Papers*, XV, 299-302. See also Stafford, pp. 247-48.

⁹⁹ *Ven. Cal.*, 1603-1607, no. 739 (p. 519).

¹⁰⁰ Proclamation printed in Mark A. Tierney, *Dodd's Church History of England* (London, 1841), IV, Appendix IV; Steele, *Proclamations*, I, no. 981. Ironically, this proclamation banished all Roman Catholic priests from England. James's speech to parliament is printed in part in Tierney, IV, 10-12.

war against the Turk." Bacon suggests that the two kings set up "a tribunal, or praetorian power, to decide the controversies, which may arise amongst the princes and estates of Christendom, without effusion of Christian blood; for so much as any estate of Christendom will hardly recede from that, which the two kings shall mediate and determine." Christendom having been pacified, a Christian army and navy might then be organized which could with good chance of success "suffocate and starve Constantinople" owing to the current sickness of the Turk.¹⁰¹

That James approved Bacon's scheme is reasonably clear. In 1618 the Venetian ambassador reported that the king was again showing interest in a joint Christian undertaking against the Turk.¹⁰² Published at London the same year was a pamphlet entitled *The Peace-Maker: or, Great Britain's Blessing*, which, though probably not written by James himself, was clearly James's manifesto.¹⁰³ In this pamphlet James's hope for the restoration of peace between the Christian powers (and by inference, an alliance against the infidel) is unmistakably expressed: "If the members of a natural body, by concord assist one another; if the political members of a kingdom help one another, and by it support itself; why shall not the monarchical bodies of many kingdoms be one mutual Christendom?"¹⁰⁴ To be sure, the pamphlet represents the peace of Christendom as deriving mainly from England and England's king, rather than from a joint alliance between England and Spain. England is par excellence *insula pacis*, the land in which Noah's dove of peace has found a resting place, "the Fountain from whence [peace] springs." If the Christian peoples of Europe—the French, Italians, etc.—desire peace, they must perforce come to England, "the factory of *peace*,"

¹⁰¹ Spedding, VI, 158–59; see also Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603–1642* (London, 1883–84), III, 62–63. Both Bacon and Digby would have preferred a Protestant alliance, but seeing that James's heart was set on the Spanish match, they hoped to use the latter for a statesmanlike purpose.

It is interesting to note that at the same time Bacon was contemplating an anti-Turkish alliance between the foremost Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe, Father Joseph and the duke of Nevers were promoting a crusade of the Catholic powers. See Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph de Paris* (Paris, 1932), pp. 355–459; Gustave C. Fagniez, *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu* (Paris, 1894), pp. 120–82. I have been unable to discover any direct connection between the two crusade projects. Probably there was none. In 1620 James refused to allow iron ordnance to be delivered to the duke of Nevers for the ships of the latter's "Ordre de la Milice chrétienne" (*Ven. Cal.*, 1619–1621, no. 244, p. 169).

Also in 1617 the duke of Sully completed the first version of his famous *Mémoires* which contains a number of references to the "Grand Design of Henry IV" against the Turk. Obviously, the crusade was an important topic of discussion in both England and France in 1617.

¹⁰² *Ven. Cal.*, 1617–1619, no. 679.

¹⁰³ According to Gardiner (III, 183) this pamphlet was mainly the work of Bishop Andrews, who probably wrote at James's instigation. James's personal motto, "*Beati pacifici*," was also the motto of the pamphlet.

¹⁰⁴ *The Peace-Maker: or, Great Brittaines Blessing. Fram'd for the continuance of that mightie Happinesse wherein this Kingdome excells manie Empires* (London, 1619), p. B^b.

and to England's "Solomon" for "Judgments." The projected alliance with Spain is, however, referred to warmly: "*Spain*, that great and long-lasting opposite, betwixt whom and *England*, the *Ocean* ran with blood not many years before . . . yet now shakes hands in friendly amity, and speaks our blessing with us, *Beati pacifici*."¹⁰⁵

In 1622, the negotiations with Spain having been resumed after an interlude, Bacon wrote a dialogue entitled "An Advertisement Touching an Holy War," which indicates his continued interest in the Christian league. The dialogue was never finished, owing to the abrupt breaking off of the Spanish negotiations for the second time, and consequently we cannot be certain what Bacon's views were precisely. However, with the memorandum of 1617 in mind, we are probably on safe ground in assuming that Bacon (through his interlocutor Eupolis, a "Politique" or "Politicus") would have favored an alliance of the Christian powers led by England and Spain against the infidel. In other words, his view lay somewhere between that of Zebedaeus, the Roman Catholic zealot in the dialogue who advocated a crusade on purely religious grounds, and that of Pollio, the courtier who scoffed at the idea of a holy war as "the rendezvous of cracked brains."¹⁰⁶ Perhaps Martius, the soldier, expresses Bacon's view when he says that during the past fifty years there has been "a kind of meanness in the designs and enterprises of Christendom"; let the Christian powers forget their petty wars and unite in a war on the infidel; such a war cannot fail to be of temporal as well as spiritual advantage to all the European powers.¹⁰⁷ In September of the same year James appealed to the pope to assist in the project. He is worried, he writes to Gregory XV, by "these calamitous discords and bloodshed, which for these late years by-past have so miserably rent the Christian world." He urges the latter, "together with us," to reunite the Christian princes "in a firm and unchangeable friendship," and "as much as may be" to knit them together "in stricter obligations than before, one unto another."¹⁰⁸

To sum up, we may state the matter thus: If it is true that the relations between the European states and the Turk underwent a perceptible change during the Reformation, it is equally true that the older relationship was by

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. B.

¹⁰⁶ In his character of Pollio Bacon reflects the skeptical point of view which must then have prevailed in some quarters. Pollio intimates that a united Christendom is nothing but wishful thinking, "except you could bray Christendom in a mortar, and mould it into a new paste, there is no possibility of an Holy War. And I was ever of opinion, that the Philosophers' Stone, and an Holy War, were but the rendezvous of cracked brains." "An Advertisement touching an Holy War," *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (London, 1858-1862), VII, 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 18, 20, 23.

¹⁰⁸ *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. James O. Halliwell (London, 1846), II, 159-61; *Cabala* (London, 1662), p. 412.

no means so soon abandoned. For Tudor and early Stuart lawyers, churchmen, and statesmen, "the common corps of Christendom" was still very much of a reality, notwithstanding their willingness on occasion to use the Turk for dynastic and national ends. In this respect official opinion did not run much ahead of literary opinion. No contemporary English statesman or publicist would have indorsed Émeric Crucé's plan for the establishment of a world union in which the sultan of the Turks would be accorded a position equal to that of the Christian sovereigns.¹⁰⁹ Not until the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, or perhaps much later, were the European states prepared to regard the Turk as a power not unlike themselves and as worthy of inclusion in the European concert.¹¹⁰ So great was the weight of tradition, and so long did it take for the full impact of the secularization of European politics and the religious schism to be felt.

¹⁰⁹ As a matter of fact, Crucé accorded to the sultan a place of honor in his world union second only to that of the pope and above the emperor and other Christian sovereigns (*Le Nouveau Cynée*, ed. Thomas W. Balch [Philadelphia, 1909], pp. 106-108).

¹¹⁰ Carlowitz was the first general European congress in which the Turk participated. As Hammer points out, Carlowitz was also the first treaty "*in welchem die Pforte die Vermittelung europäischer Mächte anerkannte und annahm.*" *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Pest, 1827-35), VI, 659. Lord Paget, the English envoy to Constantinople, played an important role in mediating the peace because of William III's anxiety to free the emperor's hands for action against the French.

Wealth against Commonwealth, 1894 and 1944

CHESTER MCA. DESTLER*

THE closing years of the nineteenth century brought the American people as a nation consciously face to face with problems of which it had been uneasily aware since the Civil War. In the decade before the Spanish-American War left us fumbling toward a new orientation in world affairs, two outstanding books had surveyed the domestic scene and probed searchingly the nation's political and economic structure. Both authors, one an Englishman and the other an American with an even more penetrating mind, were friends and defenders of the best they found and fearless critics of the weaknesses they discovered. Both writers lifted national thought above the pettiness of contemporary squabbles over tariffs, pensions, free silver, and the tag ends of Reconstruction and focused attention on basic political and economic issues that were never again obscured.

The Englishman was James Bryce, whose *American Commonwealth* appeared in 1888. With objectivity and disarming friendliness he measured our institutions and political mores. Where other foreign critics had infuriated, Bryce won a hearing because we felt that at heart he was one with us in our hopes, and we heard willingly the warnings that seemed but echoes of our own unexpressed fears. Amid all the pages of praise and blame there was one passage that fell on the sensitive ear like an alarm bell in the night. A few sentences selected from this forecast of things to come are an appropriate introduction to the work of his American contemporary:

There is a part of the Atlantic where the westward speeding steam-vessel always expects to encounter fogs. On the fourth or fifth day of the voyage, while still in bright sunlight, one sees at a distance a long low dark-gray line across the bows, and is told this is the first of the fog-banks which have to be traversed. Presently the vessel is upon the cloud and rushes into its chilling embrace, not knowing what perils of icebergs may be shrouded within the encompassing gloom. So, America, in her swift onward progress, sees, looming on the horizon and now no longer distant, a time of mists and shadows, wherein dangers may lie concealed whose form and magnitude she can scarcely yet conjecture. . . . In fact the chronic evils and problems of old societies and crowded countries, such as we see them in Europe, will have reappeared on this new soil. . . . It will be the time of trial for democratic institutions.¹

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¹ *American Commonwealth* (2-vol. ed., London, 1888), II, 700-701.

Although near the close of this passage Bryce suggests that the time of reckoning lies "not more than thirty years ahead," he goes on to predict that the next few years "or even decades" will be preoccupied with popular attempts to regulate and curtail the powers of the great corporations and with even more strenuous attacks upon the "Trusts."² In 1894, six years after the publication of the *American Commonwealth*, there appeared a volume entitled *Wealth against Commonwealth*. In incisive and vigorous prose, English exposition at its best, the American author Henry Demarest Lloyd marshaled the scholarship of many years to show that the time was here and now to challenge the misuse of accumulated wealth and to break the grip of certain great corporations like Standard Oil upon the economic life of the nation. Lloyd, a man economically well-advantaged himself, was preaching no formulated socialistic doctrine. He was challenging corporate power and wealth and irresponsibility in the name of the commonwealth of democratic institutions. His work, which well merits mention in the same bracket with Bryce, was acclaimed in its day and echoed in the literature of the next decade. What Lloyd treated fully and cited by book and candle, the muck-rakers publicized in fields he did not cultivate. Those Lloyd pilloried were the originals of Theodore Roosevelt's "malefactors of great wealth." The pat phrases of later writers rattled off the armor of great corporations, but Lloyd's spear had found the weak spots and from his thrusts, weighted with scholarship, they have never freed themselves. The attack upon Lloyd and *Wealth against Commonwealth* comes in cycles. It is sharpest when, as in recent years, the papers of some of the capitalists of an earlier day are opened by families to the use of historians writing official and definitive biographies. All of them, especially those who deal with the Standard Oil coterie, must reckon with Lloyd and each has. In the name of Lloyd and of historical accuracy I propose to deal with some of these critics in as impersonal a manner as a long interest in Lloyd permits.

It may be well, however, to recall the main facts about the author of *Wealth against Commonwealth*. There can be no doubt of his fitness to undertake a study of the Standard Oil and the trusts. Trained in the law and the rules of evidence under Francis Lieber and Theodore W. Dwight in the Columbia Law School,³ he had acquired in subsequent years an extraordinary theoretical and technical equipment for such a task. After a thorough grounding in the theories of orthodox economics he had abandoned them, after

² *Ibid.*, II, 705.

³ Columbia University Alumni Office Records. Lloyd was admitted to the bar in 1869 and did not graduate with his class. For the quality of instruction see Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations* (Boston, 1922), pp. 30-31; Frederick P. Keppel, *Columbia* (New York, 1914), p. 9.

serious study, for the historical school. This was before Richard T. Ely returned from Germany to introduce the historical approach into academic circles.⁴ He was equally familiar with the philosophical and religious movements of the period, especially with Social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth." While assistant secretary of the American Free Trade League he had learned the importance of exhaustive, meticulous research to which was attributable much of his success throughout a distinguished journalistic career. Seven years as financial, real estate, and railroad editor of the then independent and liberal Chicago *Daily Tribune* had given him an almost unequaled firsthand knowledge of business practices and railroad management at a time when the Standard Oil was perfecting its alliance with the railroads and completing its monopoly. He had employed this in making the first sustained, penetrating, and comprehensive study of corporate and speculative capitalism in America, in the course of which he paid full attention to the petroleum monopoly. Published during the course of a decade (1874-85) in the *Tribune*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *North American Review*, his findings established his reputation as a leading American authority on the combination movement, market manipulations, and railroad management.⁵

During the same period Lloyd worked for a higher standard of business ethics. He fought for public control of the railroads, discovered the labor movement, and dedicated his life to economic reform. Searching for principles that could serve as the foundation for such a program, he turned to Emerson, the philosophy and ethics of Thomas Davidson and Mazzini, the Ethical Culture movement, and Christian and Fabian Socialism. From them he distilled an ethical theory and an ideal of human brotherhood broad enough to include the working class, whose elevation must be a major object of "The New Conscience." In fact, Lloyd came to regard economic problems as fundamentally ethical in character, and the labor movement as an ethical revolt that would overthrow classical economics, democratize labor relations, end monopolistic exploitation of the masses, and vitalize the churches with a truly social gospel.⁶ To further these ends, he vainly sought

⁴ An early illustration of Lloyd's abandonment of the classical school can be seen in an editorial, "The Vanderbilt-Gould Combination," Chicago *Daily Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1879. Cf. Lloyd, "The Political Economy of Seventy-Three Million Dollars," *Atlantic Monthly*, LI (July, 1882), in *Lords of Industry* (New York, 1910), pp. 47-54; Richard T. Ely, *Ground under Our Feet* (New York, 1938), pp. 121-46.

⁵ The financial page, real estate section, and railroad columns of the Chicago *Daily Tribune*, 1874-80, its editorial page for 1878-85, occasional special articles in the same, and magazine articles republished in *Lords of Industry*, pp. 1-147, notably "The Story of a Great Monopoly" and "Lords of Industry."

⁶ "The New Conscience," *North American Review*, CXLVIII (Sept., 1888; 3d ed., London, 1893), *passim*.; William M. Salter to Lloyd, Feb. 6, 1888, Lloyd Papers (A manuscript collection in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison).

the collaboration of others in the preparation of a factual, carefully documented "Bad Wealth Series." These books were to reveal with infallible accuracy the brutal, unethical methods by which great fortunes and the control of American economic life were being concentrated in the hands of ruthless monopolists. They were intended also to expose the fatal consequences of this process for free enterprise in business, for labor, for democracy itself. Lloyd believed that when presented with these facts the American people would abandon the success fantasy and pioneer in a new democracy based on brotherhood, a finer social ethics, and social control of the great corporations.⁷

Wealth against Commonwealth was the second volume in the "Bad Wealth Series," a fact that establishes its true character beyond dispute. Although it took the trust movement as its subject, it was not a formal economic treatise or simple economic history. Its first object was to make a realistic study of the pathological aspects of corporate capitalism. Furthermore, Lloyd intended to employ the results of his analysis in a formidable attack upon Social Darwinism and laissez faire economics. His ultimate purpose was to secure a hearing for a new social philosophy that should supply the theoretical basis for effective democratic action in opposition to prevailing economic trends. On the one hand, he was preoccupied with the monopoly movement as an emerging system of power. On the other, he hoped to stimulate the development of a more than countervailing democratic power which, once in the ascendancy, would harmonize and subordinate large scale economic organization to the ideals of freedom, equality, and humanity in the great society.⁸ Such purposes elevate the book from a mere muckraking tract, as some have supposed it to be,⁹ to a social document of high potentiality.

They explain, also, the peculiar organization and style of presentation that distinguish the book. With the objects that he had in view it was possible for Lloyd to concentrate on the main action, to pay but limited attention to the historical setting, and to ignore chronological sequence when convenient. His discussion of the trusts, of their methods and policies, of the Standard

⁷ Lloyd to C. B. Matthews, May 20, 1889, Lloyd Papers (Madison); Lloyd to Ethelbert Stewart, Oct. 17, 1890, Ethelbert Stewart Papers (Courtesy of Miss Margaret Winfield Stewart, Washington, D. C.).

⁸ "We must know the right before we can do the right. When it comes to know the facts the human heart can no more endure monopoly than American slavery or Roman empire. The first step to a remedy is that the people care. If they know, they will care. To help them to know and care; to stimulate new hatred of evil, new love of the good, new sympathy for the victims of power, and, by enlarging its science, to quicken the old into a new conscience, this compilation of fact has been made. Democracy is not a lie." *Wealth against Commonwealth*, pp. 535-36.

⁹ John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform* (2d ed., New York, 1933), p. 53; Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), p. 607.

Oil as their prototype and initiator, was presented therefore in a series of dramatic episodes replete with piercing epigrams, employing antithesis in telling fashion to heighten contrasts that in turn are pointed up by striking summaries. It disregarded or took for granted the normal, legitimate aspects of competitive business and focused attention upon the methods that had produced the trusts. "Bad wealth" rather than good was the subject because, as Socrates had said to Callicles, "the greatest are usually the bad, for they have the power."¹⁰

Upon the truth of his narrative and the correctness of his conclusions rested Lloyd's hope of gaining acceptance of his system of social thought. He did his utmost, therefore, to place his factual frame of reference beyond controversy so that public attention might not be distracted from the main issues. Regarding sworn testimony, adjudicated issues, and official reports as the most reliable of all data, he based his book upon the proceedings of courts, Interstate Commerce Commission, and official investigations wherever possible. These were supplemented by use of the daily press, by counsel with such noted investigators as Simon Sterne and James T. Hudson, by information drawn firsthand from participants in the struggle against monopoly. Cognizant of the fact that the oil trust destroyed its records and guarded its secrets with almost terrifying taciturnity, Lloyd drew upon the sworn testimony of its managers, official apologies published by S. C. T. Dodd, newspaper interviews of John D. Rockefeller, and such unofficial Standard Oil organs as the *Oil City Derrick*. In describing litigation he almost invariably followed the evidence that won the case, although not neglecting to state the side of the defense. Before going to press he compared his quotations and accounts of litigation with the official records and listened to the criticism of lawyers familiar with each important case.¹¹ So far as its factual framework is concerned, therefore, the presumption is that *Wealth against Commonwealth* makes a faithful, accurate presentation of available data. Heavily documented, it was long regarded as a work of painstaking accuracy.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 506.

¹¹ Lloyd to C. B. Matthews, May 20, 1889, *loc. cit.*; Adelbert Moot to Lloyd, Apr. 16, May 15 and 25, 1894, Lloyd Papers (Courtesy of William Bross Lloyd, Winnetka, Ill.); Lloyd to Roger Sherman, May 23, 1893; Roger Sherman to Lloyd, June 5, 1893, *ibid.*; *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 7. Despite John D. Rockefeller's statement to William O. Inglis, "Conversations" (Courtesy of John D. Rockefeller, jr.), p. 903, implying that, if Lloyd had inquired at 26 Broadway, information on the Standard Oil would have been given him, this is contradicted not only by the oil monopoly's well known policy of secrecy in the nineties but also it is confirmed by the abrupt termination of the investigation of its affairs by a group of prominent clergymen that had been invited by S. C. T. Dodd to undertake such an inquiry after the publication of *Wealth against Commonwealth*. The inquiry was abandoned when the ministers concerned demanded that Lloyd be included in the investigating group, a fact that is made perfectly clear by the Lloyd Papers (Madison). This is overlooked in Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise* (New York, 1940), II, 341.

Scholarly interest in *Wealth against Commonwealth* has increased ever since Charles and Mary Beard associated its shattering effect upon American complacency with the milder shock administered previously by the *American Commonwealth*. Although a noted student of Populism dismissed Lloyd's work as a "famous tract"¹² the tendency among historians was for some time to emphasize its historical accuracy. In a single year, the authors of three outstanding books vied with each other not only in paying tribute to Lloyd's influence but also in emphasizing the reliability of his account of the development of the Standard Oil monopoly. To John Chamberlain, it was a "daring and first-rate" "book of facts . . . bolstered by all future investigation." John T. Flynn's widely read work on John D. Rockefeller termed Lloyd's narrative "thoroughly faithful and authentic," "a specific, an able, a serious, and a disinterested indictment" whose publication rendered a "historic service" while more than one passage in *God's Gold* corroborated Lloyd's earlier findings. Finally, the Pulitzer Prize winning biography of Grover Cleveland, published by Allan Nevins, described *Wealth against Commonwealth* as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by detail" and paid tribute to the accuracy with which it described "the iniquities of the trusts," the history and "sordid record of business piracy" of the Standard Oil, all of which "was laid bare in more than five hundred calm, unemotional pages." "Nothing," Nevins declared, "escaped Lloyd's keen eye."¹³

The verdict of these scholars on the accuracy of *Wealth against Commonwealth* would, in all probability, have remained unchallenged had not the last of them reversed his earlier judgment. After wide investigation, in which he had been given access to the private papers of John D. Rockefeller, Allan Nevins published a biography of the great oil magnate that painted his portrait in softer, more friendly colors than had previously been exhibited and that stressed the constructive achievements of the Standard Oil. In this work, Professor Nevins asserts that the excessively harsh popular indictment of both must be attributed "particularly" to "the attacks of Henry Demarest Lloyd." Then, after tilting repeatedly in his own narrative against *Wealth against Commonwealth*, Nevins subjects it to a withering attack. As "industrial history" he declares it to be "almost utterly worthless," not to be trusted "at any point," prejudiced, one-sided, omitting the case for the Standard Oil, even dishonest. Lloyd, Nevins charges, was an incompetent investigator, a rhetorical and hysterical journalist without "high literary

¹² John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 322.

¹³ Chamberlain, p. 54; John T. Flynn, *God's Gold* (New York, 1932), pp. 253, 255-62, 327-28; Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, pp. 606-607.

gifts," dishonest though admittedly earnest and sincere.¹⁴ So detailed and sweeping is this indictment that if it stands *Wealth against Commonwealth* must be regarded as an unfounded polemic, its author classed with William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁵

To scholars interested in the career and influence of Henry Demarest Lloyd the contradiction between this last evaluation of his book and the earlier estimates of his reliability raised a historical problem of first importance. So fundamental were the issues involved that until the conflict was resolved no reappraisal of Lloyd's character and career was possible. Upon the final adjudication of the question, also, depended the survival of the now almost traditional story of the rise of the Standard Oil and its contemporary monopolies, a story that originated with Lloyd's disclosures, or the acceptance of the narrative offered in *John D. Rockefeller, The Heroic Age of American Enterprise*.

When this work appeared a rather random checking of footnote references to *Wealth against Commonwealth* uncovered some startling discrepancies between its contents and Nevins' account of them. Discovery of five or six instances of this character,¹⁶ and of Lloyd's superior accuracy when one con-

¹⁴ For the complete bill of particulars, see *John D. Rockefeller, passim*, but especially II, 331-42, 708.

¹⁵ Allan Nevins to C. M. Destler, Sept. 8, 1940.

¹⁶ According to Nevins, Lloyd invented a "fable of a prosperous oil industry in 1872 thrown into confusion and depression by the South Improvement Scheme" (*John D. Rockefeller*, I, 335, n. 17, II, 523). The account of the early history of the oil industry in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, though couched in general terms, is careful to state that the development of the Oil Region and of the refining industry was blighted increasingly after 1865 by artificial disturbances (pp. 42-44). Lloyd made no attempt to describe these in detail and began his story with the South Improvement Company on which the first official evidence was available. His papers show that he was aware of the activities of the "Erie ring" and other manipulators of oil prices and freight rates, and of their effect in undermining the profits of many producers and refiners before 1872. He was entirely correct in regarding the South Improvement Company as the climax of this development. See "Fourth Annual Petroleum Report," *Titusville Morning Herald*, Feb. 26, 1872, for evidence that oil production, the chief interest of the Oil Region, was still profitable in 1871.

Wealth against Commonwealth does not describe the agreement between the Standard Oil and the General Council of Petroleum Producers, that resulted in the great shutdown of 1887, as a crime, but rather as a shrewd move to prevent the producers from building a competing pipe line to the sea (Nevins, II, 336; Lloyd, pp. 152-59). Nevins is completely mistaken in saying that Lloyd blamed the Standard Oil for the destruction of derricks during the great producers' shutdown of this year (Nevins, II, 337, n. 17; Lloyd, p. 154). There is an extraordinary discrepancy between Nevins' account of the receivership and final sale of the assets of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company and the passage in *Wealth against Commonwealth* describing the same event, which Nevins cites as his sole authority. Lloyd's account, incidentally, is completely verified by the sources. (Nevins, II, 87; Lloyd, pp. 292-94.) Contrary to Nevins (I, 211), Lloyd was careful to show that before 1872 the refining business required only small investments and was entered by many poor men (pp. 40-41). Nevins (II, 102, n. 22) attacks a statement of Lloyd's as descriptive of the majority report of the Ohio legislative investigating committee, while Lloyd was actually summarizing the charges presented in behalf of Ohio to the United States Senate's Committee on Privileges and Elections (Lloyd, pp. 376-77) in support of the request for a senatorial investigation into the election of Henry B. Payne.

troversial point was referred to the sources used by both authors,¹⁷ cast some doubt on the validity of the sweeping attack that had been made on both Lloyd and his book. This led to a careful investigation, the object of which was to test the truth of the numerous counts in Mr. Nevins' indictment. Lloyd's qualifications, his motives in writing, the purpose and character of the book, the accuracy of its narrative when checked carefully against its sources, and the degree to which its findings were accepted by competent, contemporary scholars have all been considered. Lloyd's publications and private papers, and primary and secondary historical materials related to the petroleum industry and the trusts have been examined. An entirely independent investigation was made of the Toledo "gas war" of 1887-99 in order to evaluate the account contained in *Wealth against Commonwealth*. To make sure that the Standard Oil viewpoint was not overlooked, permission was sought and secured to make use of parts of the manuscript "John D. Rockefeller's Conversations with William O. Inglis" for this appraisal,¹⁸ subject to no restriction other than a promise of fairness and of making an accurate description of it in the text. These "Conversations" were a major source cited by Mr. Nevins in his biography. They were dictated by the elder Rockefeller after his seventy-ninth birthday (1917-18) as he listened to the reading of passages from *Wealth against Commonwealth* and Ida Tarbell's *History*. Although the oil magnate was not conducting a debate with either author, his lengthy statements contain as full a reply to the charges made by them against him and the Standard Oil as he was then able or willing to make. Their significance is increased by the fact that they were intended for his son rather than for publication. On the other hand, they were dictated without reference to documents or other primary sources. The manuscript, therefore, must be classed in the field of reminiscences, subject to the customary reservations in regard to reliability in treating incidents that had occurred from thirty to fifty years before. It should be observed, furthermore, that

¹⁷ Nevins makes a major issue out of a poorly worded statement in *Wealth against Commonwealth* (p. 383) regarding the inadequate investigative powers of the Ohio Legislature in the case of the allegedly corrupt election of Henry B. Payne to the United States Senate in 1885. Nevins asserts (II, 102, n. 23) that Ohio's authority was greater than that of the Federal Senate over "Ohio witnesses." This is an evasion. The documents that both Lloyd and Nevins relied upon state clearly that the Standard Oil men suspected of corruptly procuring Payne's election had absented themselves from Ohio during its legislative investigation and were therefore beyond its jurisdiction. The narrow scope of the resolution that had authorized the investigation, furthermore, had made it impossible for the Ohio committee to compel testimony on the general question of whether Payne had been corruptly elected. In any case, as Lloyd asserted and Nevins denies, only the Federal Senate could have compelled the attendance and testimony of the missing Standard Oil officials. *Report of the Select Committee . . . to Investigate . . . Henry B. Payne, Journal of the House of Representatives of Ohio*, Vol. 82 (1886), pp. 367-68; "Views of Mr. Hoar and Mr. Frye," 49 Congress, 1 Session, *Senate Report*, no. 1490, pp. 2, 34-35, 38-39.

¹⁸ Through the courtesy of John D. Rockefeller, jr., and of Allan Nevins.

the story told here of the origin and development of the Standard Oil is similar in theme and character to that related by the great oil monopolist, after careful coaching by his lawyers, on the witness stand in November, 1908,¹⁹ and to the short volume of published reminiscences that appeared in the following year.²⁰ All or parts of the "Conversations" that bear upon chapters vi to x, xii to xiii, xxii to xxvi, and xxix to xxxv of *Wealth against Commonwealth* have been used in this appraisal. Excerpts from the missing sections of the manuscript, however, have been found in Nevins' *Rockefeller*.

This investigation has established beyond hope of effective denial that *Wealth against Commonwealth* was the product of six years of patient, exhaustive, and remarkably farflung investigation and research.²¹ The sources drawn upon and Lloyd's careful verification of the narrative create a presumption that the book makes a faithful, reliable presentation of the facts. To test the validity of this presumption an extensive verification was undertaken of its footnotes, undocumented statements, and quotations. Of the 648 footnotes citing source materials in the book, 420 have been checked against the sources. In 410 of the 420 notes traced, the sources bear out the statements of the text.²² In ten only, none of great import, do the citations fail to support the narrative. In addition, 241 unsupported statements were traced back to the sources. Of these 229 were completely verified, eight partially so, only four were actually incorrect. Here again the mistakes modify the narrative only to a slight degree. Scores of quotations checked in like manner were found to be accurate to an unusual extent. Since the book has been called one-sided by defenders of the Standard Oil viewpoint it should be observed that of the 649 footnotes and unsupported statements verified, at least 170 of them came from spokesmen and officials of the oil monopoly, while at least thirty more were made by railroad officials friendly to it. Many of these present the side of the Standard Oil although others, it should be observed, were admissions that Lloyd incorporated in his indictment of the oil combination.

When attention is turned to specific chapters and episodes in the book, verification yields positive results to a surprising degree. The account of the anthracite coal monopoly (chapter II) stands supported by subsequent investi-

¹⁹ U. S. *vs.* Standard Oil Company of New Jersey *et al.* Nevins, II, 597-98.

²⁰ *Random Reminiscences of Men and Events* (New York, 1909).

²¹ Nevins II, 331-32, to the contrary notwithstanding. Lloyd's quest for material bracketed the United States and reached into Canada, Great Britain, France, and Germany. A series of elaborate notebooks at Winnetka list documents sought and consulted, and scores of letters there and dozens at Madison attest to the industry with which Lloyd followed leads to material. Six years of research and writing, three or four drafts of the manuscript, and his surviving research notes all attest to Lloyd's painstaking industry and accuracy in research.

²² In some of the 410 notes traced and verified, there were errors in page references, but in each of these cases the original passage drawn upon was located with relative ease and clearly identified.

gations.²³ The criminal activities of the whiskey trust depicted in chapter III are fully supported by the sources, the description of its evolution verified by comparison with contemporary scholarship.²⁴ The account of the beef trust (chapter IV) reproduces accurately the report of the Senate investigating committee of 1893 and stands unreversed by subsequent revelations. The lengthy account of the activities of the Standard Oil, though supplemented now in great detail by later scholarship, has been verified to an extent that is amazing in light of the sweeping criticisms of Allan Nevins. Three chapters (xv-xvii) that describe the attempt of George Rice, Marietta, Ohio, refiner, to compete with the oil monopoly in the South and West are astonishingly restrained in the use they make of damaging admissions on the witness stand by the Standard Oil's wholesale distributor for the South and by railroad officials in league with him.²⁵ The five chapters that describe the Toledo "gas war" of 1887-94 have been substantiated in very large measure by the independent investigation alluded to above, a study that drew upon all pertinent material including sections of the "Inglis Conversations." Its findings have been published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio*, April, 1943,²⁶ and may be compared with *Wealth against Commonwealth* at leisure.²⁷ A most careful examination of the sources cited (chapter XIII) has verified almost line for line Lloyd's description of the collusion between John D. Archbold of Standard Oil and the attorney general of Pennsylvania in a tax suit, and Archbold's bribery of Elisha G. Patterson into betrayal of the petroleum producers while still under

²³ *Report to the President on the Anthracite Coal Strike of May-October, 1902, by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission*, 58 Congress, Special Session, *Senate Document* no. 6 (Washington, 1903), p. 255, and *passim*; William W. Ruley, "Pennsylvania Anthracite," in Edward W. Walker, *Production of Coal in 1901* (Washington, 1902), pp. 147-52; William J. Walsh, *The United Mine Workers of America as an Economic and Social Force in the Anthracite Territory* (Washington, 1931), *passim*.

²⁴ Jeremiah W. Jenks, "The Development of the Whiskey Trust," *Political Science Quarterly*, IV (1889), 296-319, reproduced in William Z. Ripley, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations* (Boston, 1905), pp. 22-45, with supplemental note by the editor.

²⁵ F. B. Carley, of Chess, Carley, and Company, the Standard Oil exclusive distributors for the South, is the witness referred to, while the railroad agents were J. M. Culp, General Freight Agent, Louisville and Nashville Railroad, Frank Harriot, General Freight Agent, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, A. J. Massett, General Freight Agent of the (steamboat) Southern Transportation Line. *Investigation of Certain Trusts . . . by the Committee of Manufactures, House of Representatives*, 50 Congress, 1 Session, *Report* no. 3112 (Washington, 1889), testimony on the Standard Oil Trust, pp. 517-19, 524-36, 397-98, 410-11, 442-43, all of which is cited in *Wealth against Commonwealth*.

²⁶ Chester McA. Destler, "The Toledo Natural Gas Pipe-Line Controversy," pp. 76-110.

²⁷ Chapters xxii-xxvi. Although this account of the struggle between Toledo and the natural gas subsidiaries of the Standard Oil is highly accurate, Lloyd errs in not detecting the interested motives of some champions of the municipal pipe line, in failing to recognize the highly speculative character of the city's natural gas venture, and in failing to detect the fallacious geological theories that underlay popular support of it and that led Lloyd himself to charge that the state geologist was in league with the Standard Oil.

contract to the state in the same tax suit.²⁸ The account of Standard Oil's shabby treatment of Samuel van Syckel, inventor of the process of continuous distillation as well as builder of the first successful petroleum pipe line, has also been verified adequately. Neither Mr. Nevins nor Rockefeller's "Conversations with Inglis" disputes the facts in chapter vi, which describes how the Standard Oil used rebates secured from the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad to force Scofield, Shurmer, and Teagle of Cleveland into an admittedly illegal refiners' pool in 1876.²⁹ Lloyd's account of the South Improvement Company and how it was used by the Standard Oil to gain control of the refining industry in Cleveland, his description of the building of the Tidewater Pipe Line, the struggle between it and the railroad-Standard Oil combination, and the latter's final triumph, his story of the rate war between the Pennsylvania and the northern trunk lines in 1877 that forced the former to sell the Empire Transportation Company to the Standard Oil, all stand the test of verification. So does the account of how the oil monopoly employed its own long-distance pipe lines to throttle the railroads and use them in maintaining the monopoly that it had just established with their assistance. Equally well established is the account of the railroad rate and service discriminations imposed in the eighties in the interest of Standard Oil, of the great producers' shutdown of 1887-88, of the ruthless means employed by the oil combination in stamping out competition. Miss Tarbell, John T. Flynn, and Mr. Nevins add details that fill out the narrative and alter from time to time the interpretation of men and motives. But when all allowances are made, Lloyd's pioneering report on the methods by which the oil monopoly was established and maintained remains substantially unaltered, although later authorities emphasize more the role of economy and efficiency in the rise of the Standard Oil. Lloyd's condemnation of the South Improvement scheme; the account of the refineries of the Oil Region dismantled by the oil combination; the description of the heavy concentration of its capital investments in pipe lines, of the widespread espionage directed

²⁸ Cf. Nevins, II, 61-63, for a grudging admission. Lloyd's account commits several slight errors in chronology and fails to note that the affidavits relied upon the tax "settlement" were supplied by Lewis Emery, jr., a leader of the producers in their fight against the Standard Oil. It overlooks the fact that it was customary to take tax suits before the courts on an agreed statement of the facts. Lloyd might have observed that the initial "settlement" of \$3,145,541.64, as the amount due the state, was probably exorbitant, and that recovery of more than the \$22,000 awarded by the courts to the state, if the attorney general had followed a different procedure, might have been defeated by removal of the case to the Federal courts. Of the veracity of Lloyd's indictment of Archbold, Patterson, and the attorney general, however, there can be little doubt.

²⁹ Nevins, II, 45-49; "Inglis Conversations," pp. 75-92. Cf. Ida M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904), II, Appendixes 42-45, for reproduction of portions of the court record of the two suits in question, and of some of the affidavits now missing from the Cuyahoga county clerk's archives.

at competitors, of the decisive role of freight-rate favors in competition between refining companies, of the brutal coercion of competitors when they resisted amicable persuasion to sell out or enter the combination, of the use of bogus independent companies, and of destructive local price-cutting, and to a limited extent the assertion that the Standard Oil marketed inferior products, were all corroborated by Nevins' *Rockefeller*.³⁰

Some of the more important cases of alleged inaccuracy in *Wealth against Commonwealth* must now be considered. On the highly controversial issue of whether the South Improvement Company ever did any business, Lloyd's well-supported assertion that it did is true under a fair definition of the phrase.³¹ Lloyd did not assert that the Standard Oil Company was simply the South Improvement Company resurrected.³² But he did establish beyond dispute a significant continuity between the two in personnel. Further continuity was shown in the repeated application of the idea of forcing a monopoly upon the refining industry by means of an alliance with the railroads. As applied by the Standard Oil this entailed not only exceptional rate and service favors but also on several occasions drawbacks on rates paid by competitors, use of the pooling device as a means to ultimate absorption of competitors, railroad assistance in espionage, and rates on oil shipments from Cleveland and Pittsburg to the seaboard equal to or lower than those given the Oil Region, to the ruin of the refining industry of the latter.³³

In dealing with Standard Oil's development Lloyd's zeal in discovering its misdeeds led him occasionally to overlook or minimize evidence that would have modified his narrative. This is true of his brief treatment of the "immediate shipment" controversy of 1879.³⁴ Here he fails to note that the

³⁰ I, 322, 325, 335, 377-78, 402 quoting Flagler, 462, 464-72, 490-91, 497-502, 503, 514-15, 518-19, 566-68, 582-97, 652, 663-64.

³¹ Lloyd, p. 59. This included, he declared, securing and organizing under a charter, collecting 20 per cent on stock subscriptions, making and executing contracts with the railroads for extraordinary rate concessions designed to force competing refiners out of business, receiving the rate increases and the sale to the members of the South Improvement Company of such competing plants at panic prices. Only when the ground is taken that "doing business" meant only shipment of oil and receipt of the rebates and drawbacks promised in the contracts with the railroads can a plausible case be made in defense of the oft repeated declaration of the participants in the scheme that it had never actually gone into effect. Even this ground may prove untenable, since there is some evidence that some oil was purchased by or in behalf of the South Improvement Company before the railroads canceled its contracts and that in at least one instance the higher freight rates were collected by the railroads from an independent shipper. Titusville *Morning Herald*, Feb. 22, 27, Mar. 14, 15, 16, 19, 23, 1872; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 7, 1872; *History of the Rise and Fall of the South Improvement Company* (1872), pp. 33, 36-37, 56-57; *The Derrick's Handbook of Petroleum* (Oil City, Pa., 1898), pp. 168-69, 170, 174-76, 183; Lloyd Papers (Madison), M. N. Allen to Lloyd, Oct. 18, 23, 1899. The statement of Nevins, II, 336, in the light of the foregoing would appear to be mistaken.

³² Cf. Nevins, II, 336.

³³ Lloyd, pp. 50, 58-59, 85, 200, 206-208; Tarbell, I, 196-97; Nevins, I, 458-64, II, 73-75, for substantial agreement with Lloyd.

³⁴ Presented simply as a part of the background for the highly reliable account of the Tide-

basic problem was the lack of tankage for storage purposes that was precipitated by the tremendous increase in production of the Bradford field. This situation the Standard Oil was doing its utmost to meet by building additional tankage.³⁵ Lloyd's chivalrous attitude toward women and his distrust of John D. Rockefeller as the "gentleman pirate" of the oil industry³⁶ led him to do the oil magnate less than justice in describing the purchase of the Bachus Oil Company of Cleveland by the Standard Oil in 1878. The original affidavits used in the preparation of this account have long since disappeared from the archives of the Cuyahoga county clerk at Cleveland, Ohio. A certified copy of one affidavit in the Lloyd Papers and the reproduction of other documents by Ida Tarbell³⁷ make possible verification of this chapter (vii). These and extracts from an affidavit and a letter by John D. Rockefeller quoted in *Wealth against Commonwealth* make it clear that, once the widowed proprietor of the Bachus Oil Company had been induced to sell out, she was shown rather large consideration. Lloyd's error, which had led him to accept uncritically the ex parte statements of Mrs. Bachus.³⁸ He was off guard, too, when he accepted without careful checking the exaggerated rumors in the Oil Regions that told of numerous suicides, bank failures, cases of insanity, and defections that resulted, supposedly, from the speculative frenzy that accompanied the rise of the oil monopoly.³⁹

water Pine Line, Lloyd's facts here have been verified, but they do not give enough of the general background for a full picture of the situation.

³⁵ Lloyd, pp. 104-107. Lloyd's failure to draw upon the newspapers or to search for the Standard Oil's side of the question leads him into this error. However, the *Tiffinville Herald*, July 30, 1879, makes it plain that the oil monopoly was taking full advantage to profit from the situation for which the *Herald*, June 21, 23, 1879, had declared that the producer alone was responsible. Cf. *Derrick's Handbook*, pp. 314, 315, 320.

³⁶ Pencil MS. "Fanatic S. oil, J. D. Rockefeller before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Nov. 26, '87," Lloyd Papers (Winnetka).

³⁷ I, 203-206.

³⁸ "I might suggest that the Cleveland widow's wrong seemed to me the least obvious of any you described in your book. Under unrestricted competition, she might have received even less." Charles B. Spahr of the *Outlook* to Lloyd, Oct. 11, 1895, Lloyd Papers (Madison); certified copy, Affidavit of Mrs. F. M. Bachus, Nov. 4, 1880, Standard Oil Co. vs. Wm. C. Scofield et al., *ibid.*; Tarbell, I, 203-206, which contains not only Mrs. Bachus' first affidavit but refers also to corroborating but now missing affidavits from a bookkeeper and cashier of the Bachus Company which Lloyd, apparently, had also used. Lloyd's own narrative suggests that the minority stockholders of the Bachus Company, who negotiated its sale for Mrs. Bachus, were perhaps responsible for fixing the lower sale price. Professor Nevins argues with force that she received a fair price for her property, but in interpreting the circumstances that led to the sale he prefers affidavits secured by the Standard Oil or Mr. Rockefeller in 1903-1905, twenty-five years after the event. These, though corroborative of the generous treatment Mrs. Bachus received in the settlement, can hardly be accepted as establishing the conditions that led up to it in preference to more contemporary sources. In any case, John D. Rockefeller should not be judged on the basis of the imputation of having deliberately robbed Mrs. Bachus, since he disposed of her case from his policy of paying only appraisal value of works of corporations. *Rockefeller*, pp. 199-201, 222; Rockefeller, *Random Reminiscences*, pp. 96-107; "English Conversations," pp. 107-110, 119-121.

³⁹ Lloyd, pp. 43-44, 165. Compare with "The Wrecked," *Petroleum Age*, 1 (Dec. 1882), 413, and "Panic in the Petroleum Market," *ibid.*, II (Feb., 1883), 430.

In striking contrast with these lapses from accuracy are four chapters (xviii-xxi) in *Wealth against Commonwealth* that describe the famous Buffalo criminal conspiracy trial of May, 1887. In it three trustees of the Standard Oil Trust and the president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company of New York were charged with having conspired to blow up the works of a competitor and to injure its business in other ways. Lloyd's description of it is termed "one of the most dishonest pieces of so-called history he has ever read" by Professor Nevins,⁴⁰ whose own account is based upon the incomplete transcript of testimony supplied to the House Committee of Manufacturers in 1888 by S. C. T. Dodd, chief counsel for the Standard Oil.⁴¹ Lloyd used the complete manuscript court stenographer's report, the Dodd transcript, the record of several pertinent civil suits, the contemporary press, interviews with the public prosecutors and complainant, and data derived from the then secret Trust Agreement and By-Laws of the oil monopoly.⁴² His account presents, therefore, not only the evidence offered in the conspiracy trial but also all knowledge pertinent to the issues involved. It is, in consequence, the fullest description of the case extant.⁴³ On three separate occasions this lengthy narrative has been checked carefully and minutely against the court records at Buffalo of the criminal case and against the surviving records of the civil suits of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company against the Standard Oil and its subsidiaries. It has been compared also with the contemporary Buffalo newspapers, other periodicals, and with pertinent contemporary correspondence.⁴⁴ The result of this process has been the veri-

⁴⁰ II, 336, n. 11.

⁴¹ Nevins, II, 76, n. 24, but contrast with Lloyd, p. 244, n. 1.

⁴² Possession of the complete court stenographer's report, secured from Charles B. Matthews, the complainant and president of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, gave Lloyd access to evidence against the three Standard Oil Trustees that was excluded from the printed court record by order of the court, after their directed acquittal, and to data omitted from the Dodd transcript, some of which Lloyd identifies in his footnotes. See *Wealth against Commonwealth*, p. 244, n. 1; p. 267, n. 1; p. 275, n. 2; p. 298, n. 1.

⁴³ Contrast with Tarbell, II, 88-110, which adheres to the criminal case alone and is founded upon the incomplete Dodd transcript; and with Nevins, II, 76-87.

⁴⁴ The complete manuscript court stenographer's report of the People of the State of New York *vs. Everest et al.*, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Erie County, Feb., 1886, has long since disappeared. There survive, in addition to various manuscripts, the printed *Bill of Exceptions* (Rochester, 1887) of the case and the so-called *Appeal Book* (1888) covering the appeal from the trial court by Hiram B. and Charles Everest. Both contain a fuller report of the testimony than that supplied by Dodd to the House Investigation of Trusts in 1888 and reproduced in its *Report*, pp. 801-951. The *Bill of Exceptions*, as the fullest report of the trial extant, although it did not contain all the testimony against the three trustees, has been carefully compared with Lloyd's narrative, as has been also the Dodd transcript in the *House Report on Trusts* of 1888. In addition, the only local paper that seems to have been free from involvement in the local Standard Oil subsidiaries, the *Buffalo Express*, and the pro-Standard Oil dailies, the *Buffalo Daily Courier* and the *Buffalo Commercial* have been used to piece out the missing sections of the record in the *Bill of Exceptions* (see excerpt from *Oil City Blizzard* in the *Buffalo Express*, May 17, 1887, for the business affiliations of the Buffalo dailies). Contemporary summaries of the trial in the *Petroleum Age* and the *Paint, Oil, and Drug Review*, respectively pro- and anti-

fication of Lloyd's treatment almost line for line, even to the extent of establishing a moral certainty that one or two of the Standard Oil trustees on trial were involved in at least one aspect of the conspiracy, if not others, through voluntary adoption of its benefits. As for the president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company, a three quarters owned Standard Oil subsidiary, there can be no doubt that they were convicted primarily for conspiring to blow up the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company, as Lloyd contends.⁴⁵

Standard Oil in viewpoint, have been drawn upon to supplement the official record of the trial. The Standard Oil Trust Agreement of 1882 and the By-Laws of the Trust, first published in the summer of 1888, have been compared with pertinent sections of Lloyd's account.

⁴⁵ Nevins' description of the case for the defense (II, 80-86) would be more convincing if he had not omitted the damaging admissions made by defense witnesses under cross examination again and again; if the defense had not resorted almost entirely to mudslinging tactics in the trial and refused to put either the Everests or the Trustees on the stand; if the charge of Judge Haight to the trial jury had not emphatically stated that the question of the conspiracy to blow up the refinery of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company was *the central and most important issue* of the case; if the jury had not rendered a general verdict of guilty on all counts against the Everests to which each jurymen adhered when polled at the request of the defense attorneys as soon as the verdict was returned; if the appeal by the Everests from this verdict to the higher courts had not omitted all mention of the count in the indictment that they had conspired to blow up their competitors' works as would surely have been done if the evidence on this, the most important part of the case, had been defective (*Appeal Book*, pp. 14-15); if as soon as the trial was concluded attempts had not been made to prepare the public mind for statements from the grand jury to the effect that the three trustees had never been properly indicted, which would undoubtedly have resulted in the production of affidavits from some of the grand jurors if the falsity of the charge had not been promptly exposed by a judge of the Supreme Court (*Buffalo Express*, May 19, 21, 1887); if this did not give added support to the assertion of District Attorney Quinby that the affidavits from six trial jurors, presented to Judge Haight prior to the sentencing of the Everests, by the latter's lawyers, had been secured with money (Tarbell, II, 106; Lloyd, p. 286); if Judge Haight in imposing a fine instead of imprisonment on the Everests had not given as the decisive reason for this action the fact that the convicted Everests were also being sued civilly for large punitive damages by reason of the same overt acts that had convicted them in the criminal suit, and that it was the duty of the criminal court under the rules of law to impose in the circumstances only a nominal penalty and thus prevent punishment for the same offense. (MS. Opinion, "Hon. Albert Haight, Justice, The People, &c. vs. Hiram B. Everest and Charles M. Everest, May 8, 1888." Erie County Clerk's Office, *Proceedings and Actions*); if the district attorney just before the imposition of sentence on the Everests had not reminded Judge Haight that the act under which conviction had been secured contemplated the destruction of the works and business of a rival company (*Buffalo Express*, May 7, 1888).

Lloyd, rather than Nevins, follows the evidence that won the case. Lloyd (pp. 279-84) exposes thoroughly the collapse of the case of the defense in the trial and the tampering by defense attorneys with witnesses which the prosecuting attorney had first exposed before the jury by forcing admissions under cross examination from the witnesses concerned. The charge of blackmail raised against Matthews by the defense during the trial and now by Nevins was fully considered by the jury. It was never proved, and if it had been, was irrelevant to say the least. This accusation was raised again and again by the Standard Oil and its defenders against competitors who defeated them in the courts, notably against Scofield, Shurmer and Teagle, and George Rice, charges that are repeated in Nevins' biography.

Charles B. Matthews to Lloyd, Oct. 12, 1886, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka), states that the district attorney, after just securing the indictment upon which the Everests and Standard Oil trustees were to be tried, had stated to him that the oral testimony taken by the grand jury, together with the affidavits and other documents then on file were ample to convict all five defendants. This would seem to dispose of Nevins' charge (II, 84) that Matthews had induced the prosecuting attorney to indict the three trustees "without a shred of evidence that would bear examination in court."

The only other section of *Wealth against Commonwealth* under attack is that which (chapter xxvii) criticizes the United States Senate for refusing to investigate the election of Henry B. Payne. This passage is a carefully documented summary of the reasons offered by the state of Ohio to justify an investigation on the ground that the election had been secured corruptly by officials of the Standard Oil, and of the action taken by the Senate.⁴⁶ As such it has stood up extremely well under careful checking against the sources, with one exception. Lloyd's contention that the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections erred in reporting against an investigation would have been strengthened had he analyzed also the reasons given by the Republican senators Logan, Teller, and Everts for opposing the investigation instead of ignoring them and leaving himself open to the charge of having deliberately suppressed the fact of their opposition in order to make his case.⁴⁷ However, Lloyd used and cited Albert H. Walker's careful analysis of the entire question, which exploded the arguments and exposed the presumed motives of the three senators in question,⁴⁸ and felt, no doubt, that it would

So far as other specific charges by Nevins against Lloyd's account of the trial are concerned it may be stated: that although Albert A. Miller's character was completely destroyed before he testified in the criminal suit, his testimony was hardly as worthless as charged. Otherwise, the Vacuum Oil officials, with apparent knowledge and consent of 26 Broadway, would hardly have secreted him in Boston and then for several years in California, and attempted finally to get him out of the country. Miller's testimony, incidentally, stood up well under cross examination, and he adhered to the same story before both grand and trial juries. Lloyd in the light of the evidence given by attorney George Truesdale of Rochester, N. Y., the key witness for the prosecution, was fully justified in saying that the Everests had "coolly debated with lawyers the policy of blowing up a competitor's works" (pp. 248-49), although "a lawyer" instead of "lawyers" would have been more exact (*Fill of Exceptions*, pp. 197-99). The Everests though technically president and vice-president of the Vacuum Oil Company, were in reality "employees of the trust" as Lloyd said, since the evidence presented in the trial showed that they simply executed orders from 26 Broadway, where seventy-five per cent of the stock in the Vacuum Oil Company was held by the Standard Oil Trust. Lloyd, on page 252, was referring undoubtedly to the "explosion" that blew off the safety valve of the overheated still since on pages 250-51 he had described carefully how the larger explosion intended to destroy the works of the Buffalo Lubricating Oil Company had failed to occur (Compare Nevins, II, 336, n. 11).

If further comment were necessary it might be observed that if C. B. Matthews had abandoned his civil suit for \$250,000 damages and had concentrated on the criminal action, the case for the people in the latter would have been considerably strengthened and might have led to the conviction of one or more trustees since under the rules of law the judge had to exclude from the criminal case some evidence of importance secured in the civil suits. This, in any case, would probably have resulted in a prison sentence for the Everests, since the judge ruled as he did in imposing fines instead. Adelbert Moot to C. B. Matthews, Apr. 20, 1893, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka), contains a considered condemnation by a competent attorney of Judge Haight's action in the trial in directing the jury to render a verdict of not guilty against the three trustees. Ida M. Tarbell's account of how H. H. Rogers tried to win her without avail to the Standard Oil interpretation of the case is well told in "Would Miss Tarbell see Mr. Rogers?" *Harpers*, CLXXVIII (Jan. 1939), pp. 142-44, and also in her autobiography.

⁴⁶ And not a collection of unfounded "innuendoes and accusations" against Payne as a "tool" of the Standard Oil as charged in Nevins, II, 336.

⁴⁷ Nevins, II, 102, n. 24.

⁴⁸ *The Payne Bribery Case and the United States Senate* (Hartford, 1886), *passim*. Walker shows, for example, that Logan and Teller had secured their own elections under circumstances that may very well have made them opposed to establishing a precedent for senatorial investigations into elections in which bribery was charged.

be pointless to waste space on this aspect of the question. That Payne did not himself ask for an investigation by the Senate but actually opposed it,⁴⁹ that the Standard Oil men charged with securing his election corruptly had kept out of Ohio during that state's limited investigation, that Ohio legislators more than sufficient in number to have decided the election were seriously implicated by evidence offered in support of Ohio's request for an investigation, together with evidence of continued Standard Oil control of the legislature that had elected Payne and the expressed convictions of informed leaders of both political parties in Ohio that the election had been corruptly secured by the Standard Oil was more than sufficient to justify the treatment contained in *Wealth against Commonwealth*.⁵⁰

Save for the exceptions noted, the accuracy of *Wealth against Commonwealth's* factual basis may be regarded as beyond dispute. Lloyd's deductions from the facts that he presented and the degree to which they were accepted by competent, contemporary scholars must now be examined. He was led at times into errors of judgment owing to the unavailability of inside information on the policies, organization, and economics of the Standard Oil. This accounts for the excessive emphasis that he placed upon railroads rate favors and the piratical methods employed by it and its imitators as sources of the economic power and wealth of the great combinations and their founders. It explains, partially, his statement that the oil monopoly had contributed little or nothing to the technology of the petroleum industry and his charge that it was actually opposed to technical improvements. Yet, with the possible exception of the Frasch process of purifying the Lima oils he was correct in stating that the basic processes and devices in use in the industry in 1894 came from pioneers and inventors outside of the combination.⁵¹ On the

⁴⁹ Which Nevins, II, 102, mistakenly denies. Compare *Congressional Record*, 49 Congress, 1 Session, pp. 3861, 4706-7, 7313-14.

⁵⁰ Cf. Flynn, pp. 255-57. The admission by Nevins, II, 103-104, that it is clear that money was spent, probably corruptly, and "with inexcusable lavishness by the Payne managers" would seem to clinch Lloyd's main contention. He may be forgiven, perhaps, for failing to discover the distinction between Oliver H. Payne, the treasurer of the oil trust, and Oliver H. Payne, the son of Henry B. Payne, and for failing to learn in which capacity Oliver H. Payne was acting, when he secured the election of his father to the United States Senate with the active support of subordinates in the Standard Oil. Interesting confirmation of the position taken by Lloyd that the oil monopoly was heavily involved in Ohio politics is found in a contemporary statement (Dec. 14, 1887) of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, who may be regarded as well informed on the hidden forces at work within both major parties: "The Standard Oil monopoly . . . attempted to seize political power and usurp [sic] the functions of the State. It elected Hoadley Governor, elected Payne Senator when the great mass of the Democrats hated him, and nine out of every ten wanted either Thurman [Pendleton] or Ward; and attempted by outrageous frauds to steal the Senatorship held by Sherman." Curtis W. Garrison, ed., "Conversations with Hayes: A Biographer's Notes," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (Dec., 1938), 379-80.

⁵¹ Cf. Stephen F. Peckham, "Production, Technology, and Uses of Petroleum and Its Products," *Twentieth Census of the United States, 1880*, X (Washington, 1884), for the authoritative work on technology in petroleum that Lloyd relied upon. Both of Frasch's inven-

other hand Lloyd's own investigation established his contention that "the smokeless rebate," or railroad rate and service discriminations, was the chief weapon⁵² employed in the creation of industrial monopoly in late nineteenth century America.⁵³ This conclusion was accepted by economists of the historical and welfare schools, such as John A. Hobson and Richard T. Ely,⁵⁴ who were not bewitched by the evolutionary hypothesis. It received full corroboration, in the case of the Standard Oil, from the Commissioner of Corporations in 1906,⁵⁵ and more recently from the account in Nevins' *Rockefeller*.

Lloyd's description of the evolution of monopolistic combination from the "corner," through the pool, trust, and holding company to the merger, and of the extension of its sphere of action from the national to the international field, has been accepted by virtually all students.⁵⁶ His assertion that this development by 1893 had resulted in the monopolization or attempts to monopolize most necessities of life in America has been cited in Ida Tarbell's more recent survey.⁵⁷ His analysis of monopoly price practices, made with the assistance of Byron W. Holt and E. Benjamin Andrews, discovered not only the greater rigidity of monopoly over competitive prices during periods of depression but it led him to assert that little if any of the reduction in costs that had characterized the oil industry since 1882 had been passed on to consumers by the Standard Oil save during sporadic periods of competition.

tions (Nevins, II, 7-8) had been perfected or initiated while he was not in the employ of the Standard Oil, and the technical contributions made by the oil monopoly before 1894 seem to have been in the perfection and improvement of basic inventions or discoveries made by others, such as in distillation, tank cars, pipe lines, tank steamers, lamps, paraffin production, and the utilization of by-products.

⁵² Chap. xxxiii, and particularly p. 492.

⁵³ In Europe, he confessed, other weapons were used, and he stated, furthermore, that if transportation discriminations were unavailable in America other devices and practices would be employed by the monopolists (p. 492). Sheer weight of capital resources he recognized as a factor of key importance in the Standard Oil's success in Europe. For a contrary view regarding the importance of railroad discrimination see "Ingliš Conversations," p. 687.

⁵⁴ Hobson to Lloyd, Feb. 22, 1895, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka); Ely to Lloyd, Mar. 23, 1898, *ibid.*; John A. Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (London, 1894), p. 133.

⁵⁵ *Report on the Transportation of Petroleum* (Washington, May 2, 1906), pp. xx-xxvii, 1, and *passim*. This report traces in detail the extraordinary rate favors and service discriminations that the Standard Oil enjoyed throughout the United States and declared, in the words of the Commissioner: "In almost every section of the country that company has been found to enjoy some unfair advantages over its competitors, and some of these discriminations affect enormous areas."

"Not only has this resulted in great direct pecuniary advantage in transportation cost to the Standard, but it has had the far more important effect of giving that company practically unassailable monopolistic control of the oil market throughout large sections of the country." *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Hobson, pp. 128-30; Ripley, pp. ix-x; Ida M. Tarbell, *The Nationalization of Business, 1878-1898* (New York, 1936), chap. v.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Lloyd, pp. 4-5, 537-44.

These conclusions have been confirmed by subsequent investigations.⁵⁸ John A. Hobson's contemporary but independent researches confirmed Lloyd's deduction that the oil trust's monopoly price policy entailed curtailment of production below the competitive level.⁵⁹ That exorbitant profits were reaped by the Standard Oil from such a price policy is a conclusion in which Lloyd has the support of Allan Nevins.⁶⁰ The further deduction that the great American fortunes of his day came chiefly from monopoly was confirmed by a contemporary study published by John R. Commons.⁶¹ The graphic description of the farflung investments and gigantic economic power of the Standard Oil group of millionaires, although admittedly incomplete, has been confirmed by such an investigator as Harold Faulkner.⁶² Lloyd concluded, as did Thorstein Veblen a few years later, that American capitalism, so dominated and conducted as described in *Wealth against Commonwealth*, was still in the hawk stage, predatory and speculative.

While presenting an almost impregnable array of facts and the most penetrating analysis of monopoly capitalism yet made in America, Lloyd launched a devastating attack upon its philosophical and ethical foundations. He was convinced that the monopoly movement was receiving great impetus from the extreme individualism and materialism of the age. He advocated, therefore, no return to free competition nor simple trust busting to cope with what he termed the "greatest social, political, and moral fact" of his day. The great combinations, he declared, had been sired by competition. Orthodox economics, with its reliance on individual self-interest as a guarantee of social welfare, had proved to be nothing but "a temporary formula for a passing problem." Monopoly was merely competitive business "at the end of its journey," rewarding the "fittest" with the power of life and death over the necessities of life, to be wielded by the same "self-interest" that had wrested this power from the public.⁶³

Lloyd knew, also, that for many a pragmatic American the business "success" of the Standard Oil had demonstrated the economic soundness of large scale organization.⁶⁴ He saw, too, that the "gospel of wealth," whose ostenta-

⁵⁸ Lloyd, pp. 430-31; Tarbell, *History*, II, chap. xvi; Nevins, I, 671-72; J. W. Jenks to Lloyd, June 11, 1896, Lloyd Papers (Winnetka); J. W. Jenks, "Industrial Combinations and Prices," Industrial Commission, *Preliminary Report* (Washington, 1900), I, 48-53; "Digest of Evidence," *ibid.*, I, 125.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-66.

⁶⁰ Nevins, I, 672-73; Lloyd, pp. 431, 457.

⁶¹ *Distribution of Wealth* (New York, 1893), *passim*.

⁶² Lloyd, pp. 460-61; Faulkner, *Quest for Social Justice, 1898-1914* (New York, 1931), pp. 43-44; Nevins, II, 359-426.

⁶³ Pp. 6, 494.

⁶⁴ This was the boast of S. C. T. Dodd in his book on *Combinations*. John D. Rockefeller stated to Inglis that the Standard Oil pioneered alone, with limited help from Western Union, in establishing the feasibility of the great combination in industry.

tious piety and ever more widely advertised philanthropies Rockefeller practiced, cast a halo of sanctity about all that the oil monopoly did. Furthermore, it was clear that the official apology presented for Standard Oil by John D. Archbold and S. C. T. Dodd appealed to an urban reading public that was bewitched by the stereotypes of Social Darwinism.⁶⁵ By reason of some uncanny insight Lloyd inferred, apparently, that Rockefeller himself secretly invoked the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer to justify his great raids upon the free enterprise system,⁶⁶ just as he seemed to find in the doctrine of stewardship divine sanction for his swollen fortune. Careful reading makes it clear that the pitiless exposure in *Wealth against Commonwealth* of the cruel and illicit methods employed by the oil monopolists was motivated by a desire to strike down all the philosophical supports⁶⁷ that the "Captains of Industry" relied upon to secure popular acceptance of the corporate business system. This is indicated by scores of allusions and illustrations in the book which Lloyd utilized to point up the grim contrast between the policies of monopoly and the philosophy and claims to public service professed by its adherents, between the religious philanthropies and prayer meeting attendance of the oil magnates and the Sabbath-breaking violation of the law by their natural gas subsidiary at Fostoria, Ohio.⁶⁸ In this manner Lloyd sought to destroy the popular belief that the trusts were the product of an evolutionary process in the true sense, that they or their wealthy managers represented the "survival of the fittest," or that their great wealth was the reward for either superior efficiency or greater moral worth. Thus in pillorying Rockefeller and the Standard Oil, *Wealth against Commonwealth* exposed the falsity of the "Gospel of Wealth of the Gilded Age,"⁶⁹ and the

⁶⁵ Namely, that the oil trust was the product of superior efficiency and business methods; that the charges against it came from the less efficient competitors; or were motivated by jealousy of the "success" of its founders; and that the inevitable rise of the large scale organization, itself a product of the evolutionary process, was accompanied by an inevitable reduction in the price of its products to the consumer.

⁶⁶ At least, his "Conversations with Inglis," pp. 97, 111-12, 736-37, offer Social Darwinism repeatedly as the ultimate justification of the history of the Standard Oil.

⁶⁷ Orthodox economics, Utilitarianism, Social Darwinism, the "gospel of wealth." Lloyd, chap. xxxiv. Cf. Lloyd to Thomas Davidson, Jan. 30, 1891, Thomas Davidson Papers (Courtesy of the late Charles M. Bakewell, New Haven, Conn.).

⁶⁸ Also by Lloyd's avowed purpose in writing the book. But see *Wealth against Commonwealth*, pp. 15, 21, 68, 127, 161, 165, 215, 341-49.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), chaps. xiii-xiv, to learn how accurately Lloyd aimed his barbed shafts at the central doctrines of Social Darwinism and the "gospel of wealth."

It is clear from the "Conversations with Inglis" that the elder Rockefeller was sincere in his philanthropies and that he made no attempt to shield his business career and public acts behind either a reputation for piety or religious philanthropy. See especially page 1161, where, referring to Lloyd's quotation (p. 342) from the *National Baptist*, Rockefeller stated flatly that the oil men "Have got to stand the test" of Milton's reply to the pleas urged in behalf of Charles I.

social evil wrought by application of Darwinian principles to business. It demonstrated, also, how between the greatest oil magnate and Henry Demarest Lloyd the difference at bottom lay in the philosophy with which each confronted the problems of a business civilization.

Finally, Lloyd declared that the trust movement was developing in direct antagonism to the democratic heritage of America. The combination movement, he asserted, was destroying liberty. While it was closing one economic province after another to all but the privileged few, it was subject to the law that governed tyranny everywhere as it reached out to control the bench, manipulate legislatures, shackle the press, and pervert pulpit and classroom to its own purposes. Under this impulse America was moving toward an authoritarian system that recognized no moral standards and was evolving through industrial feudalism toward the rule of a single, "corporate Caesar." By elevating "barbarians from below . . . into seats of power kings do not know" in America and Europe monopoly capitalism was destroying civilization itself as the process of perfecting the race through promoting human welfare in an atmosphere of liberty.⁷⁰ Thus, whether judged by its methods, or ultimate consequences, or in the light of its philosophical defenses, the trust movement was a veritable Frankenstein.

Before democracy could subdue such a monster it must be equipped with ideological weapons adequate to the task in hand. Their fashioning was the work of the last chapters of Lloyd's book. For raw material he took three basic concepts: the widening community, the idea of civilization, and the Golden Rule. These he combined with a profound faith in humanity and a moving appeal to the democratic spirit of America. His fundamental postulate was the Golden Rule, the "irresistible power of brotherhood" whose "progressive sway" in "human affairs is the sole message of history" "as secular as sacred." This principle was the "applied means" that enabled men to live in society. It was the "original of every political constitution" and by its operation widened progressively the scope of social action.⁷¹ By an almost Hegelian dialectic Lloyd declared that the struggle between the individual and society, and their harmonizing was the progressive "line of conflict" that marked the path of progress.

Society thus passes from conflict to harmony, and on to another conflict. Civilization is the unceasing accretion of these social solutions. We fight out to an equilibrium, as in the abolition of human slavery; then upon this new level thus built up we enter upon the struggle for a new equilibrium, as now in the labor movement.⁷²

⁷⁰ Pp. 2, 297-98, 344-45, 500, 510-11, 531.

⁷¹ Pp. 503-505.

⁷² P. 506.

As yet civilization, "the process of making men citizens in their relations to each other" had "reached only those forms of common effort which, because most general and most vital, first demanded its harmonizing touch."⁷³ Now under the impulse of the "new morality" of universal brotherhood democracy must perfect the new institutions and controls essential to subordinating industrial power and property to the general welfare. Institutions of wealth, monopoly itself, would thereby be molded into the co-operative commonwealth by liberty and the civilizing process of brotherly love. "The word of the day is that we are about to civilize industry," since "to be safe liberty must be complete on its industrial as well as on its political and religious side. This is the American principle." By applying the co-operative methods of the post-office and public school to monopoly, Americans would move upward to "a private life of a new beauty [as] commoners, travellers to Altruria."⁷⁴ Thus, as Albert Schweitzer was to plead twenty-five years later in his "philosophy of civilization,"⁷⁵ the development of a finer social ethics would enable civilization to master the machine age.

For the "Progressive mind" then shaping up in America during the "mauve decade" such a philosophy had a profound significance. It helped to develop the new theoretical approach essential to grappling with the economic, social, and political problems of the day.⁷⁶ Lloyd's plea for social justice, his elevation of human welfare above rugged individualism and wealth-making, his demand that democracy move forward to control and socialize monopoly, his declaration that civilization and democracy both depend upon developing a more adequate social ethics all struck responsive chords. Viewed from such perspective, the publication of *Wealth against Commonwealth* in 1894 was an event of first importance in American intellectual history. Its influence was decisive in awakening S. S. McClure, Ida M. Tarbell, and Charles Edward Russell to the journalistic possibilities of the literature of exposure.⁷⁷ At the same time the book confirmed the validity of a new method of analysis in which Lloyd's magazine articles had pioneered in the eighties, a method that subjected social and economic theories to the acid, pragmatic test, and

⁷³ "... the family . . . the club . . . the church . . . union . . . for self-defence" and the post-office (p. 497).

⁷⁴ Pp. 505, 517, 526, 534.

⁷⁵ Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization, The Philosophy of Civilization*, Pt. I (London, 1923), pp. viii-xiii, and *passim*; Albert Schweitzer, *Civilization and Ethics, The Philosophy of Civilization*, Pt. II (London, 1923), *passim*. Cf. Charles A. Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), pp. 438-42, for a lengthier presentation of Lloyd's doctrine of civilization.

⁷⁶ Alpheus T. Mason, *Brandeis and the Modern State*, (Washington, 1936), p. 118.

⁷⁷ Lloyd Papers (Madison), S. S. McClure to Lloyd, Apr. 8, June 16, 1894; Ida M. Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), p. 204; Russell's introduction to Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York, 1912), I, vi-viii.

which has become in the twentieth century an important part of the apparatus of both journalism and scholarship.⁷⁸ Allan Nevins has shown how, as a polemic, *Wealth against Commonwealth* created and perpetuated the stereotypes of an awakened anti-monopolist spirit.⁷⁹ This was a contribution of no mean importance in a day when thoughtful men and embattled farmers alike feared that monopolies would "take the place of Government of the people."⁸⁰ Its constructive influence was such, however, that Lloyd's book must be viewed as a catalytic and directive influence of first importance upon the confused, angry, intellectual currents of the decade. The profound influence that it exerted upon the thought of Louis D. Brandeis, who was groping for a new and constructive approach to contemporary problems,⁸¹ the inspiration that it gave Samuel M. Jones of Toledo to embark upon his "Golden Rule" career as a manufacturer and municipal reformer,⁸² the encouragement that it gave to Florence Kelley, Jane Addams, and Ethelbert Stewart⁸³ to pioneer in the interest of the consumer, social ethics, and labor are concrete indexes of this effect. So is the strong appeal that *Wealth against Commonwealth* made to the Brotherhood of the Kingdom and other leaders among the clergy in the social gospel and Christian Socialist movements,⁸⁴ the unique position that it gained for Lloyd in the Populist movement, and the editorial support that he received for his views in a notable series of daily newspapers in Boston, New York, and the Middle West.⁸⁵ Among the urban middle class, where views as radical as Lloyd's had long been anathema, *Wealth against Commonwealth* was of prime importance in shocking professional men, intellectuals, liberal clergy, and intelligent readers into a realistic attitude toward contemporary social and economic problems, and in opening minds to reform proposals that involved an enlargement of governmental powers. This is more than indicated by the powerful endorsement and continued support that Lloyd and his book received from such molders of middle class

⁷⁸ Here, of course, Lloyd was working in the same field and in friendly collaboration with Ely, John R. Commons, and Edward W. Bemis, who were all in constant correspondence with him in the nineties.

⁷⁹ II, 341.

⁸⁰ Garrison, p. 379, quoting ex-President Hayes; Hicks, pp. 78-80, 439-43.

⁸¹ Mason, p. 27; Alfred Lief, *Brandeis* (New York, 1936), p. 64.

⁸² *The Conservator*, Dec. 1903, pp. 151-52, quoting S. M. Jones's address at the Memorial Meeting in the Chicago Auditorium held in Lloyd's honor after his sudden death.

⁸³ All were personal friends and subject to Lloyd's continued influence.

⁸⁴ Numerous letters from George A. Gates, George D. Herron, B. Fay Mills, Leighton Williams, W. D. P. Bliss in the Lloyd Papers (Madison and Winnetka), establish this beyond question. Cf. James Dombrowski, *Early Days of Christian Socialism in America* (New York, 1936), pp. 121-24; Charles H. Hopkins, *Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 131-32, 179, 196.

⁸⁵ Especially the Springfield *Republican*, Boston *Globe*, Boston *Herald*, Boston *Transcript*; New York *World*, New York *Journal*, New York *Evening Post*; Chicago *Chronicle*, Chicago *Herald*.

opinion as the *Outlook*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *New England Magazine*, and from the Congregational clergy in East and Middle West.⁸⁶ Of almost equal significance, *Wealth against Commonwealth* played a significant role in popularizing and disseminating the non-Marxian, socialist ideas whose spread among workers, farmers, and the lower middle class was such an important phenomenon in the period.⁸⁷ By linking them with the traditional antimonopolism, democratic faith, humanitarianism, and belief in civilization and progress, Lloyd made a unique contribution to the development of the "Progressive Mind." Finally, the book established him as the outstanding publicist and champion of social democracy at the turn of the century, one who used his impeccable social standing and great reputation to bridge the gulf between wage earner and middle class and thus to pioneer in a new statesmanship.

⁸⁶ This is well established by Lloyd's correspondence with the editors of these periodicals, with clergy in many Protestant denominations, and by calls upon Lloyd for articles by the *Independent*, *Outlook*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and by numerous invitations to lecture before religious gatherings.

⁸⁷ This was supplemented, of course, by Lloyd's personal friendship with Thomas J. Morgan, Victor Berger, Eugene V. Debs, and A. M. Simons, with organizers of the co-operative movement, and by his influence on the leaders of the Christian Socialist movement. Lloyd had circulated Fabian literature and arranged for lectures by members of the Fabian Society at the World Labor Congress, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. His book was frequently quoted and his views supported by such socialist journals as the *Coming Nation* (Ruskin, Tenn.) and the *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kan.).

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Teaching of American History in Great Britain

RICHARD A. JOHNSON*

ARRANGEMENTS for instructing British students about the history and institutions of the United States are, unfortunately but quite naturally, far less comprehensive than our facilities for interpreting British history and culture. There are, for example, only three endowed chairs of American history and institutions in United Kingdom universities and one of these has just been established.

The oldest and perhaps the best-known chair is the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford, which is reserved for distinguished historians from the United States. Plans are on foot to establish a readership in American history at Oxford in order to give continuity to the study, but financial support for this project has not yet been found.

The University of Cambridge endowed a chair of American history and institutions in 1943, which will also be reserved for American scholars, but the first occupant has not been designated. However, Professor H. S. Com-mager and Professor Frank Dobie have both served as visiting lecturers in American history at Cambridge during the war.

The University of London administers an endowment from the Commonwealth Fund, most of the income from which is used to meet the salaries of a professor and reader of American history and to provide traveling allowances to enable one or the other to visit the United States each year. These posts are filled by British specialists; but the balance of the income was used before the war to pay the honorarium and traveling expenses of a distinguished American historian who was invited each spring term to deliver a series of six or eight lectures on American history. These lectures will be revived after the war if the income from the endowment remains adequate.

St. Andrews University has a lectureship in American history, endowed by Edward Harkness of New York; and Sheffield maintains an unendowed lectureship in American history. Interest in American history is reported to be lively also at Bristol, Aberystwyth, and Glasgow, but no chairs or reader-

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ships are maintained in these universities. Queen's University at Belfast will have a one-term lectureship in American history and literature after the war if American forces stationed in North Ireland succeed in their self-imposed task of trying to raise an endowment of £5,000. One third of this sum has already been subscribed. Manchester University at one time had a chair in American history but it no longer exists, although the university may create a department of American studies if it secures sufficient endowment from American or British sources to supplement the funds which it feels able to provide for that purpose.

Manchester University and other British universities and teacher training colleges provide occasional lectures on United States history in connection with European history courses, and American institutions are sometimes described in economics¹ or comparative government courses. The Watson Chair of History, Literature, and Institutions, administered by the Sulgrave Manor Board, chooses a lecturer annually, alternatively from Great Britain and the United States, to deliver at one or more British universities a course of six lectures about American history or institutions. These lectures are afterwards published in book form.

With one exception, nowhere in Britain are students required to answer questions on American history in their final examinations. The exception is the Army Staff College at Camberley, where a minimum of two questions on American history must be answered.

Most British primary and secondary curricula² included compulsory work in history and geography before the war, but instruction centered largely on Great Britain, the empire, and the Continent. There were very few questions on United States history in examinations for certificates; and treatment, where it was attempted, was usually cursory and incidental to instruction in British or Continental history. Virtually no primary schools and very few secondary schools³ gave connected or comprehensive surveys of American history. Facilities for teacher training, except at the universities with chairs or lectureships in the subject, were also extremely limited, as compared with opportunities for the study of English, Continental, medieval, and ancient history. There was general recognition that syllabuses should include more information about the United States, the empire, and other regions, but few revisions were made.

¹ American economics is especially noted in lectures at Liverpool and the London School of Economics.

² A bill now before parliament will, if enacted, recast, extend, and centralize the British-Welsh system.

³ Winchester and Eton taught some American history in courses which all pupils were required to take. Eton used Muzzey's *History of the United States* as the textbook.

Public interest in the subject of America mounted after the collapse of France, when political, military, and economic relationships became increasingly intimate. It manifested itself at public meetings, in the press, and in a general feeling that the schools should try to provide more information about the United States. Ambassador Winant encouraged the authorities to capitalize on this sentiment, and, early in 1941, they directed the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department to take appropriate action to improve the teaching of American history. The officials concerned took action on two major lines. First, memorandums were issued urging teachers to give more attention to the United States in the classroom and to prepare themselves to do so by reading books from selected lists. Secondly, efforts were made to provide additional facilities for teacher training in United States history. The effectiveness of these activities was increased by the work of inspectors of the central agencies, who were always ready to advise colleagues and schools on methods of improving instruction.

Other agencies, public and private, also helped to lay the groundwork for better instruction and to provide opportunities for self-education. The National Central Library published a list of books on the United States suitable for British public libraries; British publishers (particularly the Clarendon Press) produced a spate of works on the United States; several local education authorities held Anglo-American youth conferences; and many private organizations sponsored lectures on Anglo-American relations or various aspects of American civilization. In addition, many Americans resident in Great Britain were invited to lecture to British troops and factory workers on American history, government, and education.

His majesty's senior chief inspector of schools in England and Wales and the local liaison officer of the Scottish Education Department feel that these wartime activities should be evaluated by reference to the exceptional difficulties which confronted teachers and school administrators. In the first place, the war slashed staffs of the central supervisory agencies and the local education authorities. This burdened remaining employees with additional routine work and left little time for considering new instructional methods or revising syllabuses. Secondly, the war awakened interest in the history of the empire and other Allied countries and thus limited the time which could be devoted either to teacher training or to classroom instruction about the United States. Thirdly, the war brought a host of new problems to teachers, such as the evacuation of city children to country districts and the need to increase public feeding in the schools. Finally, teacher training programs had to be restricted because of difficulties of traveling and providing accommodations at conferences or seminars.

The following comments on the character of the wartime program and the success which it has achieved must be viewed in the light of those difficulties. They have been drawn from documents furnished by the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department, from interviews with officials of these agencies, and from a conference with a small group of teachers of history in English secondary schools.

Both the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department issued memorandums urging teachers to increase and improve instruction in United States history and to prepare themselves for this task by self-education. Officials of the board admit that their memorandums did not always achieve the desired effect; but they feel they were reasonably successful because library books about America have been in greater demand and because a fair percentage of the teachers who attended short courses were already well informed about the United States. Scottish authorities state that their memorandum aroused widespread interest among teachers and pupils; that most secondary schools and some teachers in primary schools are giving more classroom time to United States history; and that many teachers have been reading books on the select list. They also assert that examiners have widened the scope of their questions on American history.

The Board of Education conducted seventeen short teacher training courses on United States history. They were attended by over three thousand teachers and were received favorably both by local authorities and the teachers participating. They have undoubtedly improved and increased the teaching of American history in many English and Welsh secondary schools.

No special regional short courses were given in Scotland, but history teachers in training colleges have all introduced lectures dealing specifically with America, and college libraries have increased their American sections. In addition, special lectures on the United States have been arranged in nearly all colleges. Short courses on the United States for teachers in service were offered at three out of four training centers in 1942 and 1943.

Publishers, local education authorities, and other public and private bodies have helped inform the British public about the United States and its history by publishing during the past three years a wide range of informative material, including bibliographical aids, and by arranging lectures and conferences. The public is reading many more American books and books about America. Nevertheless, British schools lack adequate supplies of good textbooks and works of reference on United States history.

Teachers find it very hard to strike an appropriate balance between the claims of United States history and the histories of other Allied nations and

the empire. The time now accorded American history in schools which have followed recommendations of the central authorities probably cannot be increased without giving it an emphasis which would be regarded as disproportionate.

No compulsory questions and relatively few elective questions on history are included in examinations for school certificates, although the tendency is to increase the number of elective questions. It is generally agreed that this will give the subject much more importance in the eyes of students.

Prospective history teachers are still not required to take courses in United States history in training colleges or universities, and relatively few elective courses are offered. One small but representative group of British teachers expressed no concern about this situation, for they felt that they could make up for the lack of formal instruction by private study and reading. The director of the American University Union describes this feeling as "dangerous but prevalent . . . characteristic of the whole country, and compounded of indifference and indolence."

Several final conclusions may be drawn from the preceding comments:

There has been an appreciable improvement in teacher training in United States history during the past three years, a marked increase in the amount of time given to United States history in secondary schools and public forums, and a definite improvement in the facilities school and public libraries offer to students of United States history.

There seems to be little possibility of further increasing the time devoted to instruction in United States history in primary and secondary schools because of claims of other nations and because time for instruction in the social sciences is limited.

For the most part, the wartime teacher training programs in United States history are of a temporary character, and this induces a feeling of pessimism about the qualifications of new teachers and about those of teachers who did not participate in them. However, the Board of Education plans to offer additional short courses in the history of the English-speaking peoples, and lectures on the United States are now included in long-term history courses given by Scottish teacher training colleges.

Reference has been made previously to the fact that two endowed chairs of American history in British universities are reserved for American scholars and that the University of London and the Sulgrave Manor Board administer endowments which enabled them, before the war, to invite distinguished American historians to deliver series of lectures in Great Britain. The George Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford, which is open to American

scholars in any branch of teaching or research but which is filled only part of the time because the endowment is inadequate, is the only other endowed chair reserved exclusively for United States scholars.⁴ Americans are rarely invited to fill chairs elsewhere, and the only noteworthy exception before the war occurred in consequence of the Carnegie Endowment having voted all the funds needed to pay the salaries and expenses of six American visiting professors. During the war two American scholars have been invited to lecture at Cambridge.

Only one permanent arrangement for the reciprocal exchange of faculty members between British and American universities is known to exist. The Imperial College of Science and Technology announced recently that it had arranged with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to maintain after the war a regular interchange both of staff and of graduate students. Arrangements are now being concluded for faculty exchanges between twenty-four paired British and American universities or university colleges, but definite plans have not been announced. Eventually it is hoped that students will also be exchanged by the universities and colleges concerned.

Occasional unilateral or reciprocal exchanges of faculty members or research specialists took place before the war between universities, research institutions, or university hospitals, but the number of persons involved in such arrangements is believed to have been very small. On the other hand, the great American foundations sent British research specialists to the United States and American specialists to Great Britain in fairly large numbers; and the Leverhulme Trust announced recently that it is now prepared to make grants to British specialists for study in the United States. During the war there has been an exchange of research specialists on an even larger scale through the mediums of official agencies such as OSRD, OWI, and their British counterparts, but only the Rockefeller Foundation has continued to operate in Great Britain and its activities have been curtailed.

Nine United States-United Kingdom student exchange arrangements at the university level existed before the war, but only four of these provided for reciprocal exchanges. The Mellon Exchange Fellowships, which are sustained by an endowment created by the late Andrew Mellon, permitted an annual exchange between Clare College, Cambridge, and Yale University. The Henry Fellowships, which are also endowed, supported annual exchanges of four postgraduate students of Oxford and Cambridge with an equivalent number from Harvard and Yale. An exchange of one student each year

⁴If the current project to establish a lectureship in American studies at Belfast matures, another endowed chair will be reserved for American scholars.

between the University of St. Andrews and Union College of Schenectady, New York, was conducted between 1935 and 1939 on the basis of an agreement which has been suspended but not canceled by the war; and an annual student exchange between Southampton and a Middle Western university was initiated in 1937 and operated until the war intervened.

The Commonwealth Fund of New York, which was established in 1918, has been making grants since 1925 to British subjects to permit them to study and travel in the United States. Between 1925 and 1939 a total of 361 graduates of United Kingdom universities held its Ordinary Fellowships. Forty-eight persons of British descent holding positions overseas under the British government, the government of India, Dominion, colony, protectorate, or mandated governments held Overseas Service Fellowships between 1929 and 1939; and nine persons holding positions in the United Kingdom Civil Service received appointments to study in the United States between 1937 and 1939. In 1939, twenty-four Ordinary Fellowships, five Service Fellowships, and three Home Service Fellowships were offered.

The best-known scholarships available to American university students for study in Great Britain are those granted by the Rhodes Trust. Thirty-two Rhodes Scholars are elected annually from the United States and are accepted by various colleges at Oxford University. Election confers the stipend for two years but an extension is sometimes granted for a third year of study elsewhere. Candidates must be university students between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five and unmarried.

The Kellett Fellowships, which are administered by the dean of Columbia College, are tenable for two years by graduates of Columbia. They were instituted in 1933, and two students were appointed annually up to 1939. Kellett Fellows are received by Oriel College at Oxford and Clare College, Cambridge.

The Fiske and Lionel Harvard Fellowships are tenable by Harvard graduates, who are received, respectively, by Trinity and Emmanuel Colleges at Cambridge.

A scheme to facilitate reciprocal exchanges of teachers between British and American primary, secondary, and technical schools was drafted in 1922 by the Education Committee of the English-Speaking Union and subsequently a joint committee was organized to arrange British participation. Between 1926 and 1940, 134 reciprocal exchanges were arranged for women teachers, and eleven further appointments were completed but not carried through because of the war. Thirteen appointments for men teachers were arranged up to 1942. The interchanges were for one year and covered both

positions and salaries. The overwhelming proportion of the British schools involved were secondary schools and the American schools were mostly public high schools.

During the between-wars decades, the English-Speaking Union of Great Britain, and the English-Speaking Union of the United States, also founded and administered a number of traveling scholarships tenable by British and American elementary, secondary, and technical school teachers and by certain categories of technicians. Holders of the scholarships received cash grants and arrangements were made for them to spend at least a month abroad, staying at different places in the homes of members of the English-Speaking Union. Between 1923 and 1942, when the arrangements were temporarily discontinued because of exchange and transport difficulties, 155 British subjects were thus enabled to visit the United States and 221 citizens of the United States visited Great Britain.

Exchanges of primary, secondary, and technical school teachers, other than those effected under the arrangements just described, were relatively infrequent before the war, although reciprocal exchanges between private schools took place occasionally, and many American teachers visited Britain as tourists at their own expense.

The only important prewar scheme for facilitating reciprocal exchanges of American and British schoolboys was initiated by Father Sill of Kent School in 1928. It enabled boys from a number of British public schools to spend a year free of cost at American private schools and vice versa. The scheme was administered in England by a special committee of the English-Speaking Union and in the United States by the International School Boy Fellowship. Between 1928 and 1940, 212 British boys visited America under the scheme and thirty-five⁵ American boys visited British schools. While no other reciprocal arrangements were operative before the war, a small number of American students, in addition to those exchanged, normally attended British primary and secondary schools, usually those of the fee-charging type. Such students, on the whole, were probably not very representative because most of them came from wealthy Anglophile families.

Since 1939 about ten thousand British primary and secondary school children have found hospitality in the United States, and the thought has been voiced here that more exchanges of young students should be organized after

⁵ This figure is much smaller than the British figure because arrangements for sending British boys to the United States came into operation several years before an agreement on reciprocity was reached, and because the visits of twenty-two American boys for the 1939-1940 term were canceled, although nineteen British boys went to the United States as late as the autumn of 1940.

the war. So far as is known, the only body which has taken action to promote such exchanges is the Kinsmen Trust, which was founded by parents of evacuated British children to provide opportunities for boys and girls from America and the Dominions to receive part of their education in the United Kingdom. The trust has received contributions from parents and others who sympathize with their objectives and these funds have been invested in war securities. In addition, a few British schools have agreed, at the solicitation of the trust, to offer free places to boys and girls nominated by the trustees.

A Pension Office Note on Brigham Young's Father

M. HAMLIN CANNON*

BRIGHAM Young's statement on his parentage, quoted below, would seem to have been accepted without question by his biographers:¹

My grandfather, John Young, was a physician and surgeon in the French and Indian War. My father, John Young, was born March 7, 1763, in Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. He was very circumspect, exemplary and religious and was from an early period of his life a member of the Methodist Church. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the American Revolutionary War, and served under General Washington. He was in three campaigns in his own native State and in New Jersey. In the year 1785 he married Nabby Howe, daughter of Phineas and Susanah, whose maiden name was Goddard.

In January, 1801, he moved from Hopkinton, he moved to Whitingham, Windham County, Vermont, where he remained for three years, opening new farms. He moved from Vermont to Sherburn, Chenango County, New York, in 1804, where he followed farming, enduring many hardships and privations incidental to new settlements.

My father's family consisted of five sons and six daughters.²

But there appears to be more to the story. The accompanying documents show that Brigham Young's father in 1815 married a second time and had three sons by this marriage, one of whom, Edward, grew to maturity. The forgotten second wife and widow comes from the records of the United States Pension Office, a source not often consulted.

The pension claims of John Young and his widow, which are in the

*The documents here published together with notes for an introduction were submitted by Mr. M. Hamlin Cannon, a graduate of George Washington University and the holder of a master's degree from that institution. He had been employed in the National Archives, but as a seaman, first class, he was on his way out of the country. With his approval the assistant editor, Miss Margaret Blegen, took charge of selecting and editing the documents. In doing this she has had the assistance of two scholars in the field of Mormon history, Mrs. Fawn M. Brodie and Dale L. Morgan. [Editor's Note.]

¹ Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young* (New York, 1876); William Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons* (New York, 1923), p. 327; M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York, 1925), p. 4; Preston Nibley, *Brigham Young: The Man and His Work* (Salt Lake City, 1936); Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* (New York, 1930), pp. 1-2; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

² Mrs. C. V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge, 1866), pp. 1-2.

Division of Veterans' Administration, the National Archives,³ throw much light on the family background of the notable colonizer and religious leader. The first of the pension papers is dated October 2, 1832, and contains John Young's request in New York state (he was then sixty-nine years old) to obtain the benefit of the Federal pension act of June 7, 1832, because of three periods of service in the Revolutionary War.⁴ Following this is his application for a continuation of the pension at his new address in Ohio. In 1861 Hannah Young filed a claim for a pension as the widow of the Revolutionary War veteran John Young.

The documents are significant because they reveal a bit of family background for some curious reason not referred to in the biographies of Brigham Young. They show that in 1832 the whole family was converted to the Mormon church and trailed the prophet Joseph Smith to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835. Two years later the family broke up: John Young followed Smith to Missouri; his wife returned with her children to New York state.

It so happened that 1837 saw many defections from the church. The Mormon bank failed disastrously and Joseph Smith was forced to flee with his Mormon colony to Missouri to escape the wrath of his creditors. And in this year were heard the first whisperings of polygamy. Perhaps the most interesting of these documents is the one implying that John Young, the father of Brigham, who must have been between seventy-five and seventy-seven years of age, practiced polygamy. If this is true, then he began even earlier than his famous son, who claims to have known nothing about polygamy until 1841.

The documents show also a rather terrifying span of pension dates, with Hannah Young claiming in 1861 the pension earned by her husband some eighty years earlier. And ironically Brigham, at the zenith of his bizarre and trail-blazing career, because of his dubitable merits in the eyes of New York justice, gravely endangered the pension claims of the stepmother who seems to have played such a minor role in his life.⁵

STATE OF NEW YORK Monroe County

On this 2nd day of October A.D. 1832 personally appeared in open

³ The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Miss Dorothy Hill, Division of Veterans' Administration Archives, the National Archives, who first called to his attention the existence of the records.

⁴ Werner in his *Brigham Young* (p. 4) refers to John Young's service through four engagements under George Washington. On his own statement Young never participated in any battles. His successive enlistments were for six months, three months, and six weeks. All of his discharge papers were missing because he "gave them all to his master John Jones who as this deponent was informed took them to Boston and turned them in to pay his taxes with."

⁵ See below p. 89.

Court, before the Court of Common pleas, now sitting John Young a resident of Mendon in the County of Monroe and State of New York, aged sixty-nine years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath, make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7, 1832. That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers, and served as herein stated 1st That in the month of June 1780, day he does not recollect he enlisted as a soldier in the Army of the Revolution at Hopkinton in Middlesex County in the State of Massachusetts, under recruiting officers whose names he does not recollect into the 4th Massachusetts Brigade of Musketry and rendezvoused at Springfield the next July and was marched from thence to West Point by the way of Litchfield and Fishkill. Don't recollect the name of the officers that marched him to West Point but at West Point General Larnard commanded said 4th Massachusetts Brigade in which he served Col. Bailey the Regiment and Maj. Maxfield the Company; from West Point he marched under the above named officers to Kingsburry, creped over into New Jersey and was stationed at Orange town at the time Maj. Andre was hung, then marched to Liberty Pole, thence to Tantoway where he resided till he was marched to West Point for Winter quarter. There, after having served six months the time for which he enlisted, he was discharged. The above service was rendered in the Continental line commanded by Gen'l. Washington.⁶

2. That he again enlisted in the Militia of Massachusetts in the month of August, (thinks) about the 10th of the month) 1781, at Hopkinton afore-said in said County of Middlesex in Massachusetts. Capt. Howard and Lieut. Loren commanded the Company; Commander of the Regiment he does not recollect. Rendezvoused at Springfield as before and marched to West Point by the same rout. From West Point marched to Peekskill; from there unattached party to Crotons Bridge for the purpose of reconnoitering the line, where he took the yellow fever and lay in the hospital at Peekskill till he was able to go to the Camp. The army of the Militia was then stationed at Peekskill hollow, which he joined, and was taken in a detached party commanded by Capt. Samuel Toy to Fishkill where he remained until the term of three months the time for which he had enlisted, had expired and was discharged by said Capt. Toy.⁷

3rd. That in the month of March 1782 (day not recollected) at the same place where he enlisted for the other campaigns, he again enlisted, under Capt. James Millen and Maj. Chamberlin (he believes) for six weeks to go

⁶ Written in the margin of the original is "period 6 mo."

⁷ Written in the margin of the original is the notation "period 3 mos."

to Rade Island to repair Fort Butte he went there served out the time and took his discharge. That he was not in any battles, has no documentary evidence and that he knows of no person who can testify to his service.⁸

1st Interrogatory Says that he was born in Hopkinton, County of Middlesex in the state of Massachusetts on the seventh day of March 1763.

2nd Interrogatory Says there is a record of his age as he expects and believes in Hopkinton where he was born.

3rd Interrogatory Says he lived in said Hopkinton when he was called into the service and continued to live there after the Revolutionary War till 1801 when he moved to Sherburn in the County of Chenango and State of New York where he lived ten or twelve years then moved to Genoa in the County of Cayuga and State of New York, lived there four years then moved to Ryrone in the County of Stuten, State of New York, lived there 10 years, then moved to said Mendon where he still resides.

4th Interrogatory Says he was an enlisted soldier.

5th Interrogatory Says he has stated in his declaration the names of the Regular officers so far as he recollects and does not recollect any important circumstances in relation to his service not mentioned in his declaration.

6th Interrogatory Says he was regularly discharged from each of his three enlistments 1st by Lieut. Col. Ezra Bedlam, 2nd by Capt. Samuel Toy, and 3rd thinks he was discharged by Maj. Chamberlin, that he gave them all to his master John Jones who, at this deponent was informed, took them to Boston and turned them in to pay his taxes with.

7th Interrogatory. Says Milton Sheldon and Ason DeWolf residing in his neighborhood know him and can testify as to his character for veracity and their belief of his services as a soldier of the Revolution, and that there is no clergyman residing in his neighbourhood who has been acquainted with this deponent any length of time. And

He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any State.

JOHN YOUNG

Sworn to, and subscribed the day and year aforesaid.

L. ADAMS *Clerk*

We Milton Sheldon and Anson DeWolf residing in the town of Mendon, County of Monroe do hereby certify, that we are well acquainted with John Young who has subscribed and sworn to the above declaration:—and we

⁸ Written in the margin of the original is the notation "period 6 weeks."

believe him to be sixty nine years of age; that he is reputed and bellived in the neighbourhood where he resides, to have been a Soldier of the Revolution and that we concur in that opinion of his neighbours.

Sworn, and subscribed the day and year aforesaid

MILTON SHELDON
ANSON DeWOLF

L. ADAMS *Clerk*

And the said Court do hereby declare their opinion after the investigation of the matter, and after putting the interrogatories prescribed by the War department, that the above mentioned applicant was a revolutionary soldier and served as he states. And the court further certifies: that they are satisfied that there is no clergyman residing in the neighborhood of the above applicant and that Milton Sheldon and Anson DeWolf who have signed the above certificate are residents in the town of Mendon in the County of Monroe and are credible persons and that there statements are entitled to credit.⁹

(Sgd) GILES ORIN
JOSEPH SIBLEY
SAML. CASTLE

*Judges of the County Court
for Monroe County*

THE STATE OF OHIO Geauga County

On this thirteenth day of April 1835, before me, the subscriber, an acting Justice of the Peace in and for said County personally appeared John Young who, on his oath, declares, that he is the same person who formerly served in a company commanded by Lieutenant Robert Muzzy, in the 4th Brigade Second Regiment (commanded by Colonel Bailey) of Massachusetts state troops, called at that time (1780) "the new levies"—in the service of the United States. That his name was placed on the pension Roll of the State of New York, from whence he removed in June 1833 to Kirtland in the County of Geauga and State of Ohio where he now resides and intends to remain, and wishes his pension to be there payable in future; and that his reason for removing to the State of Ohio, was that he had children residing there with whom he wished to spend his remaining days—That he drew his pension up to the 4th of March 1833, in the City of New York and that he has not

⁹ The pension claim of John Young was approved May 6, 1833, to begin March 4, 1831, at the rate of \$34.65 per annum, paid semi-annually "during his natural life."

drawn his pension since that time. & wishes his transfer to be so made that he may draw from that time, there being 2 years pension due him on the 4th of March last

Sworn & subscribed to, before me the day and year aforesaid.

JOHN YOUNG

ARIAL HANSON *Justice peace*

STATE OF NEWYORK County of Mendon

On this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861 Before me a Justice of the Peace in and for said county, Personally Appeared Hannah Young, age 81 years a Resident of Cammeltown in the County of Steuben & State of Newyork who being duly sworn according to Law doth on her Oath make the following declaration in order to Obtain the Benefit of the Provisions made by the act of Congress Passed on the 3d of February 1853 granting Pensions to Widows of Persons who Served during the Revolutionary War. that She is the Widow of John Young Deceased who was a Private in the war of the Revolution and that her said Husband was a Pensioner of the United States She thinks under the Act of June 7th A.D. 1832 but the amount she cannot State. She further states that at the Time of his application for a Pension he Resided in the Town of Mendon, Monroe County State of Newyork also that he Lived at the same Place for Some 5 or 6 years after he Obtained his Pension and then they Moved from there to the Town of Kirtland Geauga County, Ohio & he Drew his Pension while he Lived there for some 3 or 4 years he went from there to Illinois and Died there But the Name of the Place or the Date of his Death she cannot State.¹⁰ She further States that She was married to the said John Young in the Town of Tyrone in the state of Newyork on or about the 20th of August A.D. 1815 by one William Harnan a Justice of the Peace and that her name before her Marriage was Hannah Dennis that She was not married to John Young untill after the Second Day of January A.D. 1800 but at the time above stated that there is no Public or Private Records of her Marriage and that She cannot file herewith his certificate of Discharge and

¹⁰ Joseph Smith noted the death of Young in his own journal on October 12, 1839, as follows: "This day President Brigham Young's father, John Young, Sen., died at Quincy, Adams County, Illinois. He was in his seventy-seventh year, and a soldier of the Revolution. He was also a firm believer in the everlasting Gospel of Jesus Christ; and fell asleep under the influence of that faith that buoyed up his soul, in the pangs of death, to a glorious hope of immortality; fully testifying to all, that the religion he enjoyed in life was able to support him in death. He was driven from Missouri with the Saints in the latter part of last year. He died a martyr to the religion of Jesus, for his death was caused by his sufferings in the cruel persecution." Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City, 1908), IV, 14.

that further that She is still his widow. She is now 81 years Old and her memory does not Enable her to state the circumstances more fully than above stated.

She hereby appoints S. R. Powell of Willoughby Ohio, her True and Lawful Attorney with Power of Substitution to Prosecute this her claim for a Pension to Receive the certificate when Issued and to do all other acts necessary and Proper in the Premises.

HANNAH YOUNG LS
her mark X

Witness JOHN KISHPAUGH

On this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861 Personally Appeared before me a Justice of the Peace in and for said county Elijah Bond and Phebe Bond who are to me well known and who are credible witnesses and who being by me duly sworn Deposes and says that they are each well acquainted with Mrs. Hannah Young the above applicant for a Pension that they have known her for 50 years last Past that they were well acquainted with John Young her late Husband having known him for some 35 years before his Death that they the said John Young & Hannah Young Lived together as husband and wife in the same Neighborhood that said Deponents Resided in for some years and they were reputed so to be that Deponents never herd the fact of their Marriage Disputed or questioned that the said John Young was a Pensioner while he Lived in the town of Mendon Monroe county Newyork & also in Kirtland Geauga county Ohio & that he went to Illinois and Died somewhere about the year 1840 or 41 and the said Hannah Young has been Since that time and still is his widow as said Deponents verily Believe and that her Said Husband was the Identical man mentioned as a Pensioner in his application above and further that they wer Present and saw Hannah Young Execute the foregoing affidavit by Signing her name to the foregoing Declaration and making Oath to the same in due form of Law and that they Deponents do Reside in said county aforesaid

ELIJAH BOUND
his mark X
PHEBA BOUND
her mark X

Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 30th Day of July A.D. 1861

JOHN KISHPAUGH *Justice of the Peace*

Brief in the case of Hannah Young, widow of John Young, a Private in the revolution

Steuben County and STATE OF NEW YORK

act 3rd February 1853

CLAIM, ("original," or "for increase.")

PROOF EXHIBITED, (if original.)

Is it documentary, traditionary, or supported by rolls? If either, state the substance.

John Young was a pensioner under the act of 7th June 1832 at the rate of \$34.65 per ann. and the vouchers in the 3d Auditors office show that the last payment was made in the year 1836.

No record proof, public or private of the marriage, and no testimony of witnesses present at the ceremony. Marriage occurred in the State of New York, at a time when there was no law requiring a public record to be kept.

The marriage relation proven by the testimony of *seven* witnesses, certified to be respectable and credible, who knew the parties for many years, in two different towns in which they resided who state that the parties lived together irreproachably as husband and wife, and that no doubt was ever entertained of their sanctity and present widowhood proven by abundant and satisfactory testimony.

As John Young, the pensioner was the father of Brigham Young, the *Mormon*, who is reputed to have a greater number of *wives* than the laws of the State of New York allow, and as the pensioner himself adopted the illegal practices of his son, and joined the mormons in Ohio in 1835, and then started to go with them to Nauvoo in Ill. but died on the way, the rules have been more stringently applied in this case than in others, in requiring such proof (in the absence of record evidence) of the relation of husband & wife as should place the act beyond a doubt; not only that the parties held that relation before Mormonism existed but that it was never doubted that the ceremony of marriage by legal process had taken place and that the parties had lived together in that relation virtuously, blamelessly & exclusively. I think the proof shows that they did!

Allowed at the rate of \$34.65 per annum to begin on the 3d February 1853.¹¹

L. M. DRURY *Ex^r Clerk*

Certificate to S. R. Powell Esq., Bath, New York.

¹¹ The certificate of pension was issued May 28, 1862.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA County of Potter

On this 24th day of March A.D. 1862 Personally Appeared Before me a Justice of the Peace within and for the County & State first above mentioned Edward Young age 38 years last July a resident of Burtville McKean County who being Cautioned and then Sworn according to Law States that he is the Son of John Young Diseased who was a Pensioner of the State of New York and Ohio and when he first obtained his Pension he Lived in Livingston or Monroe County New York after he had Drawn his Pension Some years at this Place he Moved to Kirtland Geauga County Ohio and there he Received his Pension he thinks for the years 1834-35-36- he further States that in the month of April A.D. 1837 himself and his mother Hannah Young, left Kirtland Ohio on a visit to the State of New York and the Same Season while they were in the State of New York his Father John Young Left Kirtland Ohio with the Mormons for Missouri and they were not Allowed to Settle there then they Started for Nauvoo Illinois and while on their way in the State of Illinois his Father Died but the time or Place of his Death he Cannot State only in the Year 1837 he further States that he has always been owned and acknowledged as the Son of John and Hannah Young he further States that his Mother Hannah Young now resides in Campbell Town Steuben County New York

In Testimony whereof he has on the day and year first above written hereunto Signed his Name and affixed his Seal

EDWARD YOUNG (L. S.)

Sworn to Subscribed and acknowledged before me on the day and Year first above written and I hereby Certify that I am well acquainted with Edward Young now Present and Believe the Statements to above are Correct and True

HARRIS LYMAN (J. P.)

PENNSYLVANIA County of Potter

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE CONDITION OF MAN. By *Lewis Mumford*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1944. Pp. x, 467. \$5.00.)

To write a book exposing the disorders of society and from the exposition to deduce remedies implies on the part of the author the opinion that the possession and right ordering of knowledge are themselves remedies; accordingly, logic demands that these figure among the remedies advocated in the book. Biological considerations confirm that it is by knowledge primarily that man meets the problems of his existence, for his distinguishing and dominating trait as a species is his largely developed mind, and there is no doubt that dominating biological traits play the part of supreme arbitrating cause in the fortunes of a species.

In Mr. Mumford's book "personality" is the central concept. It is described in Freudian terms, and covers the entire biological character of man including the higher consciousness, physiologically based in cortical development, and all other aspects and functions of mind as well as the simpler traits more fully shared by other animals. (A few of the shibboleths of the personalist philosophy occur, and R. T. Flewelling's latest book appears in the bibliography, but the system of the personalists is entirely absent.) Since Mr. Mumford's remedies for the disorders of society are given in terms of personality and personality includes mind, the requirements of logic are here met, although in an obscure and involved manner, as will appear below.

The book, excluding the last two chapters, traces personality shortly through the history of the Jews, of Greece and Rome, and at greater length through the history of Western society. Thought is the main theme, but other events, chiefly economic, are brought in, and there are short separate sections on sex life, presumably intended to have some connection with the Freudian description of personality. The argument emerges that neither medieval Christian philosophy nor modern Cartesian philosophy and its derivatives (somewhat strangely, capitalism, and not Cartesian thought, is represented as basic in modern times, and also as the "chief heresy" of the Middle Ages) were consistent with a satisfactory, growing society, the former because it repressed empirical criticism and sex, the latter because they tended to repress art and qualitative thought and were also negative toward sex. From this it is said to follow that thought must allow for the total personality, the whole man, and the last two chapters advocate and prophesy an intellectual and social system which will do so.

The argument is not, perhaps, an utter failure. The overthrow of medieval Christian thought and the social institutions concomitant with it, by reason of

their ultimate hostility to empirical criticism, is a fact and commonplace knowledge; it may also be granted that Cartesian dualism and the materialism derived from it have, together with the various institutions and the quantitative science that go with them, proved unfavorable toward the aesthetic development of the mind—a perception we owe chiefly to Professor A. N. Whitehead. But Mr. Mumford's *argument*, as distinct from the disconnected information he mixes with it, takes no account of the prosperous centuries of growth experienced by Western society under both the medieval Christian and the Cartesian dispensations. Out of the intentions of the argument and the disconnected material considered together (but not so considered by Mr. Mumford) there does accrue support for a view of history as in some part—quite an important part—a dialectical process. To that impression Mr. Mumford contributes further, apparently unconsciously, in his concluding chapter, for he there prophesies a collective social system to replace the present system where it is individualistic. He may be right in thinking that that new system will offer wider scope for active expression of the many-sided human personality than have earlier systems in the history of Western society, but this is not because systems affording narrower and more partial expression do not promote growth, for manifestly they do so abundantly. Indeed, the known history of other civilized societies, including the Greco-Roman which is within Mr. Mumford's purview here, suggests that the broader systems which supervene at the end of the history of a society are accompanied by less growth and finally by decline. (See Vico, Toynbee, even Spengler, all three of whom get somewhere near the truth on this matter.) The reason for the broad scope offered personality in later social and philosophical systems is to be found in the development of thought, of which Mr. Mumford, rather bedeviled by horror of Hitler, tends to lose sight in his concluding chapters. It is because the thought of later systems is later, because all philosophies attempt to accomplish totality—the Cartesian attempted this no less than others—and later philosophies, profiting by the errors of earlier ones, usually have more success in the attempt; and totality for expression of human personality is merely an aspect of world totality.

As to sex, there is not a shred of evidence, either in Mr. Mumford's book, or, so far as I know, anywhere else, that the overthrow of medieval Catholicism was in any way due to repression of sex; or that the present discredit of some aspects of Cartesian-derived thought has anything to do with its alleged hostility to sex. When, therefore, Mr. Mumford announces the post-medieval period under the chapter heading "The Uprising of the Libido," we may be pardoned for suspecting that the libido has always been about equally unsuppressed. Certainly Mr. Mumford produces no evidence to the contrary. Indeed he scarcely attempts to produce even argument to show that the more primitive biological urges are organically and determinatively associated in the causation of the major processes of history. His sections on sex life stand apart from his argument, connected with the rest of the book merely verbally in that Freudian jargon is used throughout. The

jargon itself adds nothing that could not have been expressed in ordinary language, for the concepts it carries are mere subjective constructs having objective validity only for the operations of psychoanalysis. Mr. Mumford has not psychoanalyzed history.

The place of sex and other primitive urges in history would appear to be as follows. They constitute a single group among many groups of lesser causes; the groups are immensely varied and include all manner of natural phenomena from the "actions" of chemical substances up to the highly complicated equilibrating and disequilibrating processes that inform the physical, biological, and bio-physical "balances" and "imbalances" of nature. A great many of these operate partly within the human physical organism. Conspicuous besides sex urges are climatological processes, balances of flora and fauna, mutations accumulating and dissipating through heredity, the process of the endocrine glands within the human organism, and so forth. All of these forces together, in association with the human consciousness—and, in periods of human progress, under domination of the consciousness—constitute the total causation of history. It is a reasonable, if difficult, proceeding to attempt to interpret history in terms of the operation of all these causes. It is also a reasonable, and somewhat less difficult, proceeding to attempt to abstract the action of the dominant, the human consciousness, and to illuminate the course of general history by reference to the course of thought—in fact, this is about the one real illumination available to us in the present state of knowledge. It is quite absurd, however, to pick out some particular group of the lesser causes, all of them extremely obscure, and attempt to use it as well as the dominant cause; the result is sure to be exaggeration and will probably be gross error.

This book utterly lacks philosophical rigor. Yet its weak argument often embodies important half-truths; and, paradoxically, the weakness of the argument is itself a virtue, for there is little constructive speciousness or factitious evidence. Mr. Mumford is honest. The book is full of ingenious and penetrating comments, some of them probably true, upon particular historical phenomena—for example, faith and reason, protestantism, nationalism, Marxism. But, as a serious essay interpreting the present in the light of history, it does not exist. For the sake of its fragmentary merit, Mr. Mumford might perhaps think it through again, and write another essay.

Atlanta University

RUSHTON COULBORN

THE IDEA OF NATIONALISM: A STUDY IN ITS ORIGINS AND BACKGROUND. By *Hans Kohn*, Sydenham Clark Parsons Professor of History in Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 735. \$7.50.)

THIS book by Professor Hans Kohn is not only what the author says in his preface "perhaps the first detailed history of nationalism in any language" but it

is also an eminently scholarly presentation of this vast and controversial subject, a worthy counterpart to the authoritative *Histoire de l'Internationalisme* by Christian L. Lange. Here is a broad knowledge of details combined with a large view of universal development and supported by a wealth of literary references, and the whole often brilliantly written. Even an adept linguist may sometimes feel staggered by all the quotations offered without translation in Latin and Greek, French and German, Italian and Spanish, Dutch and Polish. But we must assume the blame ourselves, not put it on the learned author.

He introduces his theme with a discussion, in a truly historical spirit, of the different elements of modern nationalism. He is well aware of its complexity, and therefore he does not venture a simple definition. He stresses, however, its political implications, its direction towards organized expression of a mass mind through the state. It is the history of this political nationalism that Professor Kohn has made it his task to tell. This theme is what gives his work its scope—and its limitations.

The present book is the first volume of the work he has planned, and it is in a way only the introduction to the history of the age of nationalism which, according to his conception, begins with the French Revolution. The true theme of this volume is the mental preparation for nationalism in the century preceding the Revolution, and the hero of it is the English people, first in England, then in America. He traces the gradual development of ideas into national concepts, within the framework of general intellectual life, as connected with the spirit of the age. This is done with a fine discrimination that makes these chapters a highly valuable contribution to the whole intellectual history of the eighteenth century.

The first result of this development, one that meant a new epoch in modern history, he finds in the establishment of a nation, the first in the modern sense of the word, in America. Even students of American history, I suppose, will find something new, instructive, and inspiring, in Kohn's interpretation of the spirit of the American Revolution and of the relationship of the rebel patriots to their national government. Personally I think he exaggerates the idea of the nonexistence of any American nationality before the Revolution. After all, even in colonial times, the people of the British colonies called themselves "Americans," in the South as well as in the North, to distinguish themselves from the English in the old country. But, certainly, Kohn's paradox that only through their fight for universal ideas did they become a nation apart contains an essential truth.

The lack of political ideas in the contemporary German nationalism, in contrast to the national political will developed in the free English-speaking nations, is demonstrated in a long chapter. There is a strong, almost merciless penetration in his analysis of the German "nationalists" of the eighteenth century, and fundamentally Kohn is right. Here we have one of the facts most important to the explanation of German history in our own days. But again he exaggerates: The a-political attitude of the German intellectuals was not so unique at that time,

even compared with the French champions of enlightenment before the Revolution. And when Kohn, for instance, declares that "the Storm and Stress had no political will" (p. 352), he ignores the early words of both Goethe and Schiller. His rather polemical picture of German nationalism is blurred somewhat when, in a note (p. 684), he opposes the modern glorificators of Arminius to the medieval Germans who were indifferent to him. They were, he says, too closely united with the Roman Empire to feel any sympathy for such a rebel, while the truth is that they did not hear about Arminius before the discovery of the Tacitus manuscripts at the end of the fourteenth century.

Following the chapter on Germany is a long and rather heterogeneous chapter on the beginnings of nationalism in no less than seventeen different nations or nationalities of minor importance. It abounds in detailed information, mostly, though not always, correct as to facts and dates, but in most cases not sufficient to convey a more than superficial idea of the movement going on and the forces behind it. Obviously it is the weakest part of the book, and not so well written by far as the rest of it. Curiously enough, the author, while treating the early nationalism in Wales and Ireland, omits entirely that of Scotland, although the movement there gave a unique stimulus to nationalism in many countries.

Objections of another order may be directed against the chapters preceding the main part of the book. I feel only admiration for the chapter on nationalism in ancient Palestine and Greece. Although the author admits that the two very different types of nationalism in those countries both missed the political outlook which, in his definition, should be a feature of true nationalism, he is right in including them because of their influence upon modern national ideas. He seems arbitrary in asserting (p. 30) that, in ancient times, only Jews and Greeks developed pronounced national traits of character; he himself happens once to speak of "the genius of Latium." Anyhow, both Judaism and Hellenism ended in universalism, and the Romans created the first lasting universal empire in the Western world.

In the Middle Ages, Professor Kohn recognizes no true nationalism by reason of the definition he has postulated. He asserts that the idea of a universal church and empire dominated all medieval thought. I would think that, from his own point of view of the essentially political import of nationalism, he ought to have given more consideration to the establishment of individual kingdoms in direct opposition to the empire. The political development of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth century, a period almost completely neglected by Kohn, was truly decisive for the growth of nations and nationalism. During that period we can observe expressions of national sentiments and efforts that are much more than mere individual ideas. It can be shown in several cases that these expressions embodied traditions of a popular character. There is a line running continuously from this medieval nationalism to the modern form.

Kohn will not accept as nationalism a movement that is not truly popular, in

which, as he says, "the people does not coöperate." Therefore he rejects as true elements of the movement everything that originated simply from above, from the government. That, he says, is "statism, not nationalism." He will not call it nationalism unless it conforms with modern ideas of nationality, distinguished by a language of its own. That is, in my opinion, a failure to appreciate important forces of development in this field. It leads him to declare—contrary to essential facts—that the Reformation stifled nationalism, that mercantilism was merely a scheme imposed from above, that the efforts to impose a language common to all the lands of a king were nothing but practical measures.

Thus Kohn's work is not free from objections. But the most important of them are voluntarily provoked by his own conception of the task he has undertaken. His work invites opposition and discussion because it is not merely the history of an idea. It is in itself fruitful of ideas.

As to facts, the book bears the mark of good scholarship. I note here two errors that have a certain bearing on the reasoning of the author. A couple of times (pp. 151, 189) he refers to the principle *cujus regio ejus religio* as established by the Westphalian Peace of 1648, while it was confirmed as early as 1555 by the Peace of Augsburg and was virtually proclaimed already by the Speyer Diet of 1529. The word "patriot," in the sense of a man fighting for the liberty of his fatherland, does not originate in the eighteenth century; it was first used, as far as I know, by the Netherlanders who rebelled against Spain in the sixteenth century.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT

A HISTORY OF THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume VI, **THE GREAT CENTURY IN NORTHERN AFRICA AND ASIA, A.D. 1800–A.D. 1914.** (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1944. Pp. ix, 502. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Latourette's, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, a.d. 1800–a.d. 1914*, is his third volume dealing with this chronological period. It covers Northern Africa and Asia and is, therefore, the most challenging that has appeared so far. Herein he presents the attempt of Christianity to conquer the other great historic religions of mankind and admits its relative failure. In actual number many men in India, Southeastern Asia, China, and Japan became Christians, but the percentage of converts in the whole population was relatively small. In Japan the percentage of Christians was probably greater in the year 1600, before the expulsion of the Christians, than it is today.

The people of Northern Africa and of Asia, even when they became politically subject to the Occident, have nevertheless preserved their cultural independence. They have paid a willing tribute to all those elements of Western civilization which

they could adapt to their needs. Christianity was often respected because it was the religion of engineers, medical men, and military and business entrepreneurs. The tendency was to select from Christian culture those contributions which would strength native cultures.

With these generalizations in mind, the reader can survey the great achievements of Christianity in the nineteenth century in the Continental domains under consideration. The expansion of Christianity was primarily due to its vitality in Western Europe, particularly in Great Britain. The United States, too, had great missionary centers and, as the century went on, the American people became a leading missionary power, in furnishing both money and men. On the home fronts, the new feature was the organization of many missionary societies, independent of the state. The joint stock company was the pattern in missionary activity as well as in business. A religious corporation set up a network for the collection of money, the recruitment of personnel, and the management of the missionaries. The men sent forth to foreign areas established churches, schools, medical centers, and communications among themselves and native supporters. While this method had been used both by Roman Catholics and Protestants before the nineteenth century, it reached its heyday of effectiveness in "The Great Century." The disestablishment of a state church in a country, therefore, did not disorganize missionary endeavor, as all this enterprise was basically a voluntary activity of the individual churches. The dissenting churches of Great Britain were as active as the Anglican. The Protestant churches were confronted by overlapping jurisdictions, a problem not yet solved. There is some evidence that native peoples will, in time, themselves unify Christian faiths whose divisions, often hereditary in nature, are meaningless to nations which have no historical connection with the strife of past centuries.

The author raises questions that are gathering in the reader's mind, answers them as far as he can within the limits of certainty, probability, or possibility, or concludes frankly that the evidence is not clear. The chief distinction of Latourette's work is this clarity of presentation of intricate problems covering a vast subject. In fact this series of volumes is a new history of civilization.

A survey of the culture of each region is given so that the necessary geographical, economic, racial, and political data are available. It is difficult to choose an illustration. Perhaps Northern Africa and the Near East together will serve. Its early Christianization, its Mohammedan conquest, its partition among the European powers, the success and limitations of missionary activity there in modern times are all set forth within the compass of sixty pages. Beyond the field of usual treatment is the material on the expansion of Russian Orthodox Christianity into Siberia, China, and Japan. This branch of Christianity met with the same sort of successes and failures as did the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. Successful in winning primitive peoples, it failed in attempts to convert Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucianists, and Shintoists. Great missionaries were to be found

among the Russian Orthodox as among other divisions of the Christian crusaders. Ivan Kasatkin, better known under the name of Nicolai, was strikingly successful in Japan.

The impatient reader may first wish to read the chapter of "Summary and Anticipation," where narration is submerged in analyses. Here the work of the six volumes is seen in perspective, and the reader new to the work can in small space find the main threads that he needs to know. His own ideas will be confirmed or challenged. Brevity in itself here gives a fresh point of view.

Most amazing of all is the author's mastery of a vast literature in many languages. Citations indicate the immense amount of work he has done for the reader and direct him to the sources. Librarians will find the references in the notes and the bibliography of greatest value. The publisher is to be congratulated, particularly in these times, for the publication of a monumental series of volumes, so important to the humanities, and at such a low cost. The final volume will be eagerly awaited.

University of California at Los Angeles

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN: THE STORY OF RUSSIA AND AMERICA, 1781-1943. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 279. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Dulles has written a book which combines the timeliness of good journalism with the objectivity and perspective of good history. At a moment when the whole problem of the peace settlement as well as the successful conclusion of the war itself hinges on the co-operation of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States, he has illuminated two sides of this fateful triangle with the clear light of the past. He has done this, moreover, with an understanding of his subject that is both sympathetic and critical. He realizes that Teheran is but a way station on a road that could lead to great destinations for both the Russian and the American people; yet he is never blind to the obstructions that have cluttered this road and still ominously impede progress upon it. From the voluminous and controversial literature dealing with the Soviet Union, *The Road to Teheran* stands out for its clarity, its honesty, and, incidentally, for its exemplification of the value of history as a guide to contemporary problems and events.

Mr. Dulles makes no more ambitious claim for his work than that it is "an attempt to record the salient features in the past history of Russian-American relations as they may influence or affect the efforts that are being made today to discover an enduring basis for understanding between Russia and America." He expressly disclaims definitiveness and acknowledges that he has written from an American point of view and American sources. It seems to this reviewer that, within these limitations, Mr. Dulles has accomplished his purpose admirably. He has drawn together in a compact narrative of 261 pages facts and opinions that

were heretofore scattered in special studies, biographies, diaries, and state papers. His bibliography reveals few oversights. Until Russian and other pertinent sources become available, his survey will stand as an original contribution, instructive to scholars for its perspective and to laymen for both its perspective and its detail.

The basic pattern of Russo-American relations is defined in the author's first chapter entitled, somewhat editorially, "The Common Cause." This is a pattern of common, often identical, national interests superimposed upon ideologies and political systems that "have always been at opposite poles." Up to and including the present, the common national interests have invariably prevailed over the conflicting ideologies, a tendency for which geography is perhaps more responsible than statesmanship. Nevertheless, Mr. Dulles records with due recognition of ulterior motives, Russia's acceptance of the Monroe Doctrine, her moral support of the Union during the Civil War, her sale of Alaska, her common cause with the United States against Germany until November, 1917, in the first World War and again, after Hitler's treacherous attack, in the second. These are facts, end results, that superseded the diplomatic rivalries in the Far East—themselves mitigated by a recurrent identity of interest vis-à-vis Japan—and the ideological wrangles that grew out of the Bolshevik revolution, abated in 1933, and reached a new peak with the purges, the Russo-Finnish War, the neutrality pact with Japan, and the short-lived Molotov treaty with Hitler. Mr. Dulles' impartial survey gives us sound reasons to hope that the road from Teheran may continue to surmount these ideological barriers and a sober appreciation of the engineering problems involved. These problems, it would seem, were only stated, not solved, in the Moscow and Teheran Conferences of 1943 that cap the climax of his narrative.

Yale University

A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD

INTERVENTION AT ARCHANGEL: THE STORY OF ALLIED INTERVENTION AND RUSSIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN NORTH RUSSIA, 1918-1920. By *Leonid I. Strakhovsky*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. vii, 336. \$3.00.)

THE present volume, a sequel to the same author's book on *The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia* (1937), is the first serious attempt to tell the story of the Allied intervention at Archangel, both in its military and political aspects. As in his earlier volume, Dr. Strakhovsky properly stresses the importance of the military motives behind the intervention, at least in its original stages—a factor which has been too often neglected by the writers on the subject. Based on a thorough knowledge of available literature and printed documents as well as on some unpublished sources and personal experience, Dr. Strakhovsky's study gives a detailed account of the activities of the Allied diplomats and military commanders in North Russia and of their relations with

the Russian anti-Bolshevik forces in that region. It is a sad story of miscalculations, illusions, political and military errors, and of mutual distrust and misunderstanding between the principal participants in the venture. Despite the abundant documentation and the painstaking analysis of some minute details, the author has succeeded in telling his story in a lively and interesting fashion, especially as it approaches its tragic denouement. In short, his book is the work of a trained historian and an experienced writer, and it should be recognized as a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with the complicated and confused history of Soviet Russia in her earlier years, and in particular of her relations with the outside world.

On the whole, the author tries to remain within the bounds of historical objectivity, but he does not conceal his personal sympathies and antipathies as far as Russian politics of the period are concerned. This is, of course, a highly controversial field, and in some respects my reading of events differs from the author's. He is highly critical of the Russian anti-Bolshevik government at Archangel headed by the veteran socialist Nicholas Chaikovsky, and he seems to prefer its more conservative opponents. In itself, it is a perfectly legitimate attitude, and I would not quarrel with it if it were not for the fact that in places Dr. Strakhovsky attributes to the acts of the Chaikovsky group purely personal or narrowly partisan motives when, as I see it, such accusations are not warranted by the evidence. Neither am I convinced by references to statements made by French rightists like Ambassador Noulens and G. Welter or by such an obviously prejudiced witness as Chaikovsky's political enemy, Commander Chaplin. Apart from this, it seems to me that the author tends to exaggerate the importance of the shortcomings of the Chaikovsky government for the ultimate failure of the anti-Bolshevik struggle in North Russia.

This brings us to his conclusions. With most of them I feel myself in complete agreement. I think Dr. Strakhovsky is right when he claims that the purely military purpose of the Allied intervention "was eminently successful since it checked German designs to use the Northern Russian ports as submarine bases and prevented a large amount of war supplies . . . from falling into German hands." In my opinion, he is equally right when he asserts that "as support to the North Russian counter-revolution it proved to be an utter failure," and when he ascribes this failure to two main causes: the indecisive policy of the interventionist powers and the lack of real support from the Russian masses. But it seems to me that the author somewhat contradicts himself when he goes on to say that "the greatest tragedy lay in the fact that the Allied governments refused to deal with anyone who was not a bona fide democrat or even socialist, while the Russian officers, representing the real active element in the struggle, were overwhelmingly monarchistic." To begin with, one can question the factual accuracy of this assertion as neither in Archangel nor elsewhere were the Allies so very consistent in supporting the democratic elements as against the "monarchistic

officers." And furthermore, one wonders whether the reverse policy could have brought any happier result, in view of the fundamental factors in the situation indicated by Dr. Strakhovsky himself. After all, wherever the democrats and socialists were replaced by the military, these "men of action" and protagonists of "strong authority" did not fare any better than their "impractical and doctrinaire" predecessors.

Harvard University

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

GOD, MAMMON, AND THE JAPANESE: DR. HORACE N. ALLEN AND KOREAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1884-1905. By *Fred Harvey Harrington*, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1944. Pp. x, 362. \$3.75.)

God, Mammon, and the Japanese, despite its lurid though correct title, is a sober, scholarly study of American relations with Korea, with special attention to the period, about a dozen years after 1890, in which Dr. Horace N. Allen was a potent factor in shaping American policy in Seoul. The primary historical source of the study is the Allen Papers in the New York Public Library. Without wholly ignoring what lies directly adjacent to the field of his special interest, Professor Harrington has so narrowly defined his theme as to make it biography first and history second. The specialist will find a thorough exploitation of a little-used historical source and the filling in of what has been a gap in our detailed knowledge of the unhappy peninsula of Korea. The general reader, though finding the book quite readable, will be at a disadvantage in that the picture is mostly foreground. In reading *God, Mammon, and the Japanese* one can almost slide by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, hardly aware that the little, unlovely, and often rather shocking intrigues in Seoul were expressions of a vast and momentous struggle for power in northeastern Asia, which involved all of the great powers of the modern world and which matured in the present gigantic world war.

Dr. Allen began his career as a Presbyterian medical missionary in China. Never quite at ease with his missionary colleagues, he was selected to open the first protestant mission in Korea in 1884. Without professional competition, he was, from the first, often the man of the hour both in the imperial palace and among the foreigners who rushed into the newly opened hermit nation. The emperor furnished him with a hospital which was operated under quasi-missionary auspices, and in the diplomatic and consular community he was often in urgent demand. Seoul was not an attractive post for deserving Republicans, who came and went in diplomatic capacities without ever knowing why they were there. Save for W. W. Rockhill, who was hurriedly sent in from Peking for a brief emergency, no competent American diplomat was in charge in Seoul until

Dr. Allen was replaced as minister in 1905. Dr. Allen, after a brief introduction to diplomatic life as the American secretary of the first Korean mission in Washington, was appointed secretary of the American legation in Seoul in 1890. Seven years later he was made minister. He was rather roughly removed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1905, just before the legation was closed. Allen's rise in the diplomatic service seems to have been due to the support of the missions, which did not like him but which profited greatly by his services; to the fact that he came from Ohio and sought the support of Mark Hanna and MacKinley; to his industrious assistance to the few American traders and business adventurers who came to Seoul needing, literally, a friend at court; and to his own never failing ambition. Superficially Dr. Allen's career resembled that of Dr. Peter Parker and that of S. Wells Williams in China, but Dr. Allen was not a linguist, he never mastered the language, and in other important respects also he was unlike Parker and Williams. Indeed, he was more like his distant kinsman, Ethan Allen, in always knowing what he wanted and how to get it. Dr. Allen's reputation, which among his contemporaries was generally good, is now slightly tarnished by his own written records, which Professor Harrington has used so thoroughly.

It would require more than a concluding paragraph in this review to place the narrative in its broad setting. Commodore Shufelt in 1882 had made with Korea the first modern treaty in emulation of the Perry treaty with Japan. Until just before the close of the century, when W. W. Rockhill, from his post in the Pan American Union, became advisor to John Hay and Theodore Roosevelt, it is quite clear that the American government was imperfectly informed and indifferent to what went on in Seoul. In the nineties American adventurers and shoestring operators flocked into the Far East and sought diplomatic assistance. Denby in Peking gave them some support and in Seoul Dr. Allen, with less experience of the world and less discrimination, did the same and even did not see any impropriety in accepting "presents" from those whom he supported. Meanwhile Korea was being used as a pawn in a gigantic struggle for political and strategic power. Her hopelessly corrupt government leaned first one way and then another and persisted in thinking that the United States both could and would rescue it from a wreck not wholly of its own making. Amid the indecisions in the foreign offices of Europe Japan alone had a perfectly clear objective, and the American government sought and preserved only amateur standing. Dr. Allen, always inadequate, tried, as Professor Harrington suggests in the title of his book, to serve every interest which applied to him, including even the Japanese, and to please his masters in Washington. It was a mauve decade.

Professor Harrington has written an important chapter in the history of the Western powers in eastern Asia, and for those who would understand the Korean problem an indispensable book.

Hague, New York

TYLER DENNETT

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY: ITS HISTORY AND STRUCTURE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Salo Wittmayer Baron*, Professor of Jewish History, Literature, and Institutions on the Miller Foundation, Columbia University. Three volumes. [The Morris Loeb Series.] (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1942. Pp. xii, 374; 366; 572. \$2.50 per volume, \$7.50 per set.)

FOR many years the world has been awaiting a comprehensive, historical, and sociological analysis of the evolution of the Jewish community. At last a great scholar, generally acknowledged as the most learned modern historian of Jewish life, has finally presented this critical perspective of nearly four thousand years of Jewish communal history, with its center of focus in the European community of the Middle Ages and early modern times.

The democratic ideals and forms of the "Atlantic community" cannot be understood without an insight into the ancient Jewish communal heritage that began even before the Babylonian exile some twenty-five hundred years ago. The regional independence of many little walled towns around their own sources of water in ancient Palestine made a strong royalty impossible. When the Philistines invaded the highlands, the separate tribes united to form a monarchy, which, however, never followed the absolutist path of the neighboring countries. This was due not only to the power of the invading Aramean and Assyrian empires but also to the old antimonarchical spirit of the people that is evident in the story of Samuel, the judge who helped both to choose kings and to condemn them. The book of Deuteronomy reveals the acceptance by the king of constitutional limitations to the power of the monarchy, whereby the rights of the people are preserved. Despite the patent emphasis upon the central sacrificial shrine in Jerusalem, the basic loyalties of the people were to the local community, whose elders at the gates were its elected judges and whose shrines served for worship every Sabbath and festival of the year, except for the three festivals to be spent at the temple in Jerusalem. There was a loosely-knit federation of economically self-sufficient, self-governing townships but never a unified centralized state.

The neighboring empires, throughout the milleniums, have swept the Jew into their orbit but have never erased his self-governing tradition. The Persian Empire, stretching from India to Ethiopia, encouraged autonomous, theocratic, self-governing communities. The Jew may have idealized the Holy City and the ancient Temple but he belonged to his "edah," his local autonomous congregation. Here he met for worship and communal action. When the Roman Empire succeeded to the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, Judaism became *religio licita*, and there was both liberty of conscience and communal autonomy. The synagogue was not only the Jew's sanctuary but his tribunal and his treasury, his meeting place for thought and action. When Rome became Christian a new distinction was made between the "Church," Israel in spirit, and the "Synagogue," stubborn Israel in the flesh, a contrast that appealed to the old prejudice of the Roman

legions against the Jew, the one who for long centuries had refused to appease the new order of Rome. Beginning with the code of Theodosius we see the legal attempts to destroy the equality of the Jew and the appeal of Judaism. In spite, and to a degree because, of this persecution the Jewish community of the Middle Ages created new forms of religious self-government that provided the ferment out of which was to come the American and French revolutions and the democratic horizon of the modern world.

Professor Baron's superb volumes are the last word in careful scholarship. They will be the key for generations of new students of the history of Western social institutions. One prays that he will now find the time to prepare two other parallel studies in this field: the mutual influence of the social ideas and institutions of the Jew and his neighbors. Thus we could see more clearly the common originality as well as the common origins of the world's tradition that has led and will lead mankind out of bondage toward the highroads of justice and peace for all the children of men.

Washington, D. C.

NORMAN GERSTENFELD

THE JEWS AND MEDICINE: ESSAYS. By *Harry Friedenwald*, Professor Emeritus of Ophthalmology, University of Maryland. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, First Series: Monographs, Volumes II and III.] Volumes I and II. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. xxiv, 390; ix, 391-817. \$7.50.)

THIS scholarly collection of studies consists of forty-nine essays, thirty-seven of which have been published previously at intervals since 1917. With this edition the older essays have been brought up to date and integrated with new material that constitutes a fourth of the whole work.

As pointed out in the interesting preface by Henry E. Sigerist, Dr. Friedenwald began his career as an ophthalmologist under Julius Hirschberg, chief of the Berlin clinic, whose nine-volume *Geschichte der Augenheilkunde* the young neophyte was later to characterize as "not only the most comprehensive and detailed history of ophthalmology" but as "unequalled in any other field of medical history." Something of the latter's encyclopedic character appears in Friedenwald's two volumes, but he modestly states that he desires to prepare what may be regarded as "only an introduction" to a comprehensive history of the relation of the Jews to medicine.

The essays may be grouped under six headings: The practice of medicine among the Jews; ancient and medieval Jewish physicians; Jews and the early universities; biographical sketches (chiefly from the 15th to 17th centuries); Jewish hospitals, diseases of the Jews, ophthalmological notes of Jewish interest; and chronicles covering the history of Jewish physicians in Italy, Spain, Portugal and southeastern France. As may be inferred from the last heading, Dr. Frieden-

wald deals chiefly with the physicians of Sephardic origin, although he does not say so. One may well raise the question as to whether conditions in northern Europe during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance would have permitted the development of a comparable group of physicians among the Ashkenazim.

Apparently, in the southern countries, particularly in Italy, there was a continuous line of Jewish medical practitioners who in spite of successive prohibitory decrees (beginning with that of the Oecumenical Council of 692) continued to minister to indigent Christians, to monks, popes, and princes. This popularity of Jewish physicians has been attributed not only to their scientific thoroughness and devotion but also to the scarcity of able Christian physicians, witness the reservations made at church councils, "That it is permissible to seek treatment from a Jewish physician when there is no other physician to be had and there is *excellens aliquis medicus in Judaeis*." In reading the five chapters on Amatus (covering some of his 700 case histories), one might postulate that the methods of treatment which grew out of the Jewish concepts of hygiene might also have found favor—namely, "the caution to avoid doing harm, the preference of external treatment over internal medication, the choice of laxatives 'most like foods,' and . . . the stress upon a carefully regulated diet and a well ordered life."

Thus it happened that Jewish physicians came to enjoy special privileges, in spite of the general persecutions of the Jews by church and state, although they did not always escape confiscation of property, exile, and the auto-da-fé. Friedenwald lists over six hundred physicians of Sephardic origin, who attained eminence in their profession. Curiously enough, however, one recognizes very few in this list who made historic contributions to medical science, as the anatomist Laurentius did. Yet this was a period of great intellectual ferment. Could it have been that these distinguished practitioners remained under the authority of Arabo-Galenic learning, on the one hand, and the circumscribing influence of the Talmudic codes on the other?

In conclusion, one may say that Dr. Friedenwald has admirably fulfilled the purpose of recording "the conditions under which Jewish physicians followed their profession during the long period of the history of their people." To scholarly mastery of an extensive bibliography he has brought not only the peculiar wisdom of a lover of books but the saving grace of one who has labored patiently and kindly with his fellow man.

University of Minnesota

EDWARD A. BOYDEN

Ancient and Medieval History

THE LAW OF GRECO-ROMAN EGYPT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAPYRI, 332 B.C.-640 A.D. By *Raphael Taubenschlag*, Research Professor in Ancient Civilization, Columbia University, Professor of Roman Law, University of Cracow. (New York: Herald Square Press. 1944. Pp. xv, 488. \$12.50.)

It is now thirty-two years since Ludwig Mitteis in the *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, published by himself and Ulrick Wilcken, made the first attempt to present a systematic, and for the time fairly comprehensive, treatment of the major institutions of the law current in Egypt under Greek and Roman rule. Since that date the publication and interpretation of new papyrus documents had resulted in the accumulation of such a great quantity of juristic material that a new and more complete presentation of the subject had become not only possible but highly imperative. And when the European situation brought about a temporary slackening in papyrological research, the time for such a reappraisal seemed particularly opportune. For these reasons the work under review is particularly welcome, and it is eminently fitting that it should have come from the pen of the distinguished Polish scholar, now in residence in this country, whose previous publications in this field have marked him out as the logical person to undertake this task of systematization and interpretation.

The subject of the law of Greco-Roman Egypt is one which should arouse interest in much wider circles than those directly concerned with the problem of papyrological research or the history of legal institutions. It illuminates, in a way that is possible for no other quarter of the Mediterranean world, one very significant aspect of Greek and Roman imperialism, namely, the result of the impact of European social and legal practices supported by dominant political force upon the older culture world of the Near East.

In his opening chapter Professor Taubenschlag discusses the interrelation of the three legal systems (Egyptian, Greek, and Roman) operative in Egypt as a Ptolemaic kingdom and a Roman province, showing the sources of each and the spheres in which they obtained validity. He accepts the view that the native Egyptian law was codified by the Ptolemies, and argues for a second, partial codification by the Romans early in the second century A.D. Chapters II, III, and IV deal, respectively, with private law, penal law, and procedure and execution. In each a simple and logical arrangement has been adopted. In so far as is possible, under each topic, the author sets forth the native law, the Greek law, and then the Roman law, with the modifications introduced into each by legislation, judicial decisions, and other influences up to the close of the Byzantine epoch in Egypt. The result is that, in so far as available evidence permits, we have a clear

picture of the law actually in force in successive periods for the several elements of the population of the country.

The exposition of the law is supported by a wealth of footnotes which reveal the author's mastery of the sources of the current literature of the field and greatly enhance the usefulness of the volume. There is also a table of sources cited, as well as a subject index of English, Latin, and Greek terms. Deservedly, this book takes its place among those indispensable for students of the Greco-Roman period of Egyptian history. The appearance of the author's promised volume on the constitutional and administrative law of the same period will be eagerly awaited.

University of Michigan

A. E. R. BOAK

AN ESSAY ON THE NATURE OF REAL PROPERTY IN THE CLASSICAL WORLD. By *Angelo Segrè*, Professor of Economic History, University of Trieste. (New York: Paul Bassiner, Publisher, 1268 Amsterdam Ave. 1943. Pp. 143. \$1.50.)

PROFESSOR Segrè is a distinguished Italian jurist, formerly professor of economic history in the University of Trieste, Italy. He was one of the victims of the Fascist regime and has for some time resided in New York. This brief study is the first he has prepared in English in a field in which his achievements in his native language have been of great and acknowledged merit.

The external form is unfortunate. The publisher is evidently a private person who has issued this study in mimeographed form. It will consequently scarcely rank as a book that can be permanently accessioned in most libraries.

The title chosen is somewhat inaccurate. The book does not really deal with the "nature of real property in the classical world." It is rather a closely argued presentation of a special thesis about the effect of a *katagraphe* in the law we find in the Greco-Egyptian papyri. It is true that in part III, section 10, the author discusses Bonfante's theory of the way in which the Roman and Greek notions of unqualified ownership were gradually modified until ownership became under the later absolute monarchy little more than a precarious tenure. But the limits of Professor Segrè's essay prevent anything like a full discussion of the problem and scholars interested in the field will be disappointed if they expect anything more than a presentation of some very technical and special questions in the law of Roman Egypt.

The *katagraphe* is so like the deed of Anglo-American law, that if Professor Segrè were versed in that law, some of his difficulties would disappear. At the same time, the special difficulties which confront scholars in this field, to wit, the relation of this method of conveyance to those of the Roman law, those of the Egyptian native law and those commonly found in the Hellenistic world, prevent us from reaching a final conclusion until further material and more

complete analysis secure something like agreement among those who are engaged in these researches.

At the present time, this agreement is far from being attained. It is noteworthy that none of the technical terms, *katagraphe*, *ananeosis*, *synchoresis*, and others, with which the law of the papyri operate, found any currency in the later Roman law of the East even when it had become wholly Greek in language. Whether they had an influence on the Byzantine system and through that system helped form those feudal concepts of property in land which still dominate Anglo-American law and profoundly affect even Continental law, will doubtless become clearer when the historians of this period are able to make a synthesis of the vast labors which the papyri have called forth.

There is no lack of material in English on Greek public and criminal law. The researches of Robert Bonner and George Calhoun, to name only two, have substantially increased our knowledge of this field. But there is a great dearth of studies in English on the Greek law of property. Professor Segrè's essay, revised and reprinted as it doubtless will be, is a welcome addition to available material, even for those who find themselves unable to accept all his conclusions.

University of California

MAX RADIN

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND. By *F. M. Stenton*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Reading. [The Oxford History of England, edited by G. N. Clark.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 748. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Stenton's work on this period is well known through his writings, which extend over almost a generation and include volumes on William the Conqueror, Norman feudalism, and the Danelaw, as well as his writing on Anglo-Saxon place names and pieces of original interpretation of the early history. The completion of this history, by an authority who himself links with the present the age of Round, Liebermann, Maitland, and Vinogradoff, in a period not rewritten in any large part in recent years, except by R. H. Hodgkin, is a major historical achievement, long awaited, which will make the newer learning on a long stretch of English history available to the student.

The writer has fulfilled brilliantly, in both his own original work and interpretation and his use of recent scholarship, the expectations which have long centered in this volume. The bibliography, as in other volumes of the Oxford history, is an outstanding and valuable feature. To realize this, one has only to note the survey of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and their related annals. The portions of the volume devoted to institutions, culture, and social life show keen insight, much learning, and often convincing detail. The account of the English church of the tenth century contains an excellent review of the restoration of monasticism, and for the eleventh discards the view of Boehmer that the history

is one of decline. The influence of early Celtic learning in England is carefully noted; that of Ireland is shown mainly upon handwriting, but otherwise is not so important as often represented. The evidence of English trade, especially with the continent from the time of King Offa, is skilfully reviewed. The *bretwaldaship* is regarded as something personal to individual kings. A marked division between the English north of the Humber and the South English is seen to appear in the earlier writings. The chronology improved by the studies of the last generation of scholars is usefully employed. The quality of the work of W. H. Stevenson is held to have a significance for standards of technique comparable with that of Haverfield. Professor Stenton would reject no charter merely because it is starred by Kemble.

In his interpretation of obscure early history the author is often at his best. He rejects hypercriticism of details in the story of the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the fifth century and holds in masterly fashion that the tradition preserved in the time of Alfred in no less than four independent versions is genuine and could not have originated under conditions of the early historic period. Moreover, he accepts the tradition which makes the Angles the most northerly of the immigrants from the continent, as also Jolliffe's view, supported by the evidence of archaeology and social and land systems, that the Jutes had been neighbors of the Franks and migrated to Britain from the mouths of the Rhine. This Frankish affiliation seems to explain the marriage of Bertha to Ethelbert of Kent and the coming of the first Christian bishop to England. The Euthiones, a Jutish people, were subjects of Frankish kings in the sixth century.

The author's view of early English society presents essential diversity from that presented by Kemble and Stubbs. The *-ingas* of the early settlements are shown by the study of place names to have been not groups of kinsmen but communities which were usually named for places, natural features, or leaders, and originally covered many families. The *maegth* was not a clan. No law text indicates that the family group was a body which owned land. The village formed the basis of social organization, the typical *ceorl* living in economic association with others of his kind. This is shown in the assessment of public burdens, especially food rents. A common field system is found in the law of King Ine, though open fields are never found in the north or the northwest, on the Welsh borders or in Devon. In early East Anglia compact blocks of land seem to have been the rule. The *fyrð* or militia service was required of *ceorls* to the last days of Anglo-Saxon rule, though Professor Stenton holds that the army was formed by *comites* and their retainers, even the housecarles usually ranking as thegns. He differs once more from recent criticism in holding that the shires of the laws of Ine were the units of local government, as later known; he accepts the tenets of Liebermann that the hundred superseded the more ancient *regio* only in the tenth century; and believes with Miss Cam that a main influence in this was the grouping of manors for the administration of the king's food rent. Moreover, he

holds that the borough court mentioned in the law of Edgar was an actual town institution. He stresses the usages of the Danelaw, and believes that accusation by senior thegns is one root of the jury in England. Evidence is assembled concerning the household organization of the preconquest kings. Even the existence of a royal treasury at Winchester is one deduction. There is no hint except in military and judicial matters that English administration was less effective than Norman. The theory of old English monarchy held by the king's clerks was that of divine right, but the *witan* kept alive the principle that the king must govern under advice.

Professor Stenton widens one's knowledge concerning the *Domesday Book* and the introduction of feudalism in England, adding a fair amount of information about the early baronial families. The king's order of 1076 or 1077, directing proceedings to compel sheriffs to restore lands taken from bishops and abbots, shows a notable measure of control. The author follows consistently his own dictum that the adjective "feudal" is not to be employed to describe any aspect of old English society. His distinction between Norman council and court in England is hard to apply, because, at least within a very few years after 1087, either word might describe a function of both forms of the king's *curia*. The term *Commune Concilium*, used rather unfortunately to designate the national assembly of the postconquest era, is of dubious authenticity, especially in view of McKechnie's correction of the text of section 14 of Magna Charta and the careful study of the question presented by Professor A. B. White as early as 1919 in this journal.

University of California

WILLIAM A. MORRIS

MEDIAEVAL STUDIES. Volume V, 1943. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1943. Pp. 333.)

IN this volume several studies are continued from Volume IV (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX, 90). J. T. Muckle's thorough list of "Greek Works Translated into Latin before 1350" is completed. I agree with his conjecture that "more works of the Greek Fathers were translated than is yet known," for I am acquainted with a thirteenth century Latin version of a fragment of Heraclitus that is preserved, it seems, only in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, of which no Latin translation is at present known (*Speculum*, XII, 346-9). Another continuation is R. J. Scolard's "List of Photographic Reproductions, etc." Finally, the edition of Oresme's *Livre du ciel et du monde* (edited by Menut and Denomy) is completed with a critical introduction which contains a shrewd estimate of Oresme's place in the history of science and a useful summary of his commentary on Aristotle's treatise. The whole work should speedily appear in book form and receive a careful review by an expert in medieval science.

As for new studies, again theology and philosophy hold the field. V. L. Kennedy stresses the uniqueness in thirteenth century literature, and gives a sum-

mary, of "The Handbook of Master Peter, Chancellor of Chartres"—a treatise on church offices and the seven sacraments. As usual Jacques Maritain is present, this time with an article on the meaning of the *esse* and *essentia* of God, and with the hardly necessary conclusion that these concepts cannot be perfectly understood ("Sur la doctrine de l'Aséité divine"). More interesting and significant is a lengthy study of the doctrine of providence in Stoicism and Neo-Platonism by M. M. Marcia ("The Logos as a Basis for a Doctrine of Providence"). Greek influences on Islamic philosophy in the tenth century are studied by Emil L. Fackenheim ("The Conception of Substance in the Philosophy of the Ikwan as-Sefa' [Brethren of Purity]"). To me one of the most interesting studies is that of I. Th. Eschmann, "A Thomistic Glossary on the Preeminence of a Common Good." Eschmann explains satisfactorily enough the meaning of the principle in Greco-Roman thought, St. Augustine, and in the *Decretum* and the glosses of the decretists (but quite briefly); and then he presents a lengthy compilation of all the passages from Thomas Aquinas which contain the principle (the meaning of the common good in Thomas's thought will be discussed in Vol. VI of *Med. Studies*). But the common good or utility in the thirteenth century cannot be understood from scholastic thought alone. Two and a half centuries before Machiavelli kings and popes were justifying, by asserting the common utility and case of necessity, wars and crusades some of which, many of the laity and clergy thought, were not for the common good.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

LA SYRIE DU NORD À L'ÉPOQUE DES CROISADES ET LA PRINCIPAUTÉ FRANQUE D'ANTIOCHE. By *Claude Cahen*. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940. Pp. vii, 768.)

AMONG the many historical writings devoted to the crusades and the Latin states founded thereby, the kingdom of Jerusalem has always received much greater attention than its northern neighbors of Antioch and Edessa. The sources are more abundant and available, and the Holy City exercises an especial appeal. Claude Cahen's scholarly monograph fills this lacuna and makes Antioch probably the most exhaustively studied of any of the crusader states.

Written as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Paris and completed in 1938, Cahen's book was published only in 1940, with the result that it has had no circulation in America. This review is based on the copy which was procured for the Library of Congress after the fall of France, presumably the only copy now in this country. But the book is one of such importance to historians of the crusades that attention should be called to it, so that when French publications are once more available it will receive the recognition that its excellence deserves. *La Syrie du Nord* will have a place next to Röhrich's *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* among the indispensable works on the crusader states.

The book is more than a history of the Latin states of Antioch and Edessa,

although Antioch provides its principal theme and its chronological termini. As the title indicates, it covers all of northern Syria discussing with exhaustive detail the politics of the innumerable petty Turkish states of that area. Written by an Orientalist and based largely on Arabic and Turkish texts, most of which are unfamiliar to Western historians of the crusades, the book covers the historical topography of the region (pp. 105-177) and gives a detailed critique of the sources for its history (pp. 1-104), as well as presenting a detailed history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. More interesting than the purely political chapters are those devoted to the church, the native populations and religious minorities, commerce, and the institutions of the Latin states. Cahen points out most convincingly the error of the ways of those of us who assumed that Jerusalemite laws and institutions prevailed in Antioch. He demonstrates how the close relations with the Byzantine Empire and Armenian Cilicia materially affected Antioch, and the Norman origin of the Antiochene state is responsible for the private law of the bourgeoisie in Antioch following that of Normandy and Norman Sicily.

Cahen's book is French academic scholarship at its most meticulous; it is the product of years of research both in European libraries and in Syria and Turkey; like most doctoral dissertations it is not to be recommended for light reading, but it will be a "must" to all students of the crusades. Annoying errors in typography would undoubtedly have been eliminated had the author not been in service in the French army at the time of the publication of the book.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN L. LAMONTE

Modern European History

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD PICTURE. By *E. M. W. Tillyard*, Fellow of Jesus College and University Lecturer in the University of Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. vii, 108. \$1.75.)

PROFESSOR Tillyard's book gives an admirable summary in one hundred pages of the conception of world order held by that mythical person whom we all talk about, "the average educated Elizabethan." This view of life, expounded by theologians and taken for granted by poets, is purely medieval. The "Great Chain of Being" proceeds from God at the head, through the angels to man, and from man down through the lower orders of living creatures, animals and plants, to stones and minerals. All categories, and all things in each category, are in strict and determined order, although there was not always agreement as to what the details of this order were. The stability of the universe depended upon the observance of "degree, priority, and place":

Take but degree away, untune that string
And hark, what discord follows.

By an elaboration of this great conception, the world could be looked at as a series of intricately corresponding planes, or as a cosmic dance, which implied degree, but "degree in motion."

For the Elizabethans this concept of an ordered universe was threatened from two directions: one historical, the fall of man; and one philosophical or intellectual, the "new thought" represented by Montaigne and Machiavelli, and the "new science" represented by the speculations of Copernicus and his followers. These rebellious voices, which were to produce the scientific and theological revolution of the seventeenth century, are noted by Tillyard, but it is not part of the task to which he set himself to analyze them in detail. They are more fully treated by Theodore Spencer and by Arthur O. Lovejoy. What Mr. Tillyard does is to give a useful description of the concept as it existed in the Elizabethan age, and to show how completely the philosophy of that age was rooted in the past, in medieval philosophy, not to mention the whole Platonic tradition. He does less justice to the seeds of modern philosophy which had already sprouted and were beginning to grow in the fertile minds of Elizabethan thinkers. While the Great Chain of Being as a philosophical concept persisted down to the times of Dryden and Pope, the intellectual difficulties which were eventually to destroy it were already felt in the sixteenth century, just as the medieval conception of fixed order and degrees in civil society in England had already been doomed two centuries before by the Black Death.

Institute for Advanced Study

FRANK AYDELOTTE

THE EVERYDAY WORK OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY. By S. W.

Carruthers. With a Foreword by Thos. C. Pears, jr. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Societies of America and of England. 1943. Pp. xi, 210. \$2.50.)

HOWEVER little the average member of a Protestant sect or denomination knows or cares about the origin and development of the communion to which he belongs, and however much he might be surprised at it, the energy and ability of many earnest and learned men have been engaged in the investigation of precisely these matters—and not least those of one of the most intellectual denominations, the Presbyterians. They, with others of like tastes, have produced a considerable library of historical studies of this subject, and to this has now been added the labors of Dr. Carruthers, who has taken infinite pains to describe the work and the personalities of the famous Westminster Assembly, which between 1643 and 1649 laid the foundations of that communion in the evolution of the book of discipline, or the directory for worship, the confession of faith, the form of church government and the catechism, which, in general, became the bases of the Presbyterian communion throughout the world. That story has been told before, notably in the great work of Dr. Hetherington, the contributions of Mitchell and Struthers and Reid, and in the admirable essays of Professor Warfield. To these Dr. Car-

ruthers has now added an almost week by week account of the activities of the famous assembly, which did so much to determine the future of Presbyterianism. That assembly was, in fact, the creature of the English parliament. It was an outgrowth not only of the great theological controversies which filled the seventeenth century, but almost equally of the political disturbances of the British Isles in that period. As Dr. Carruthers—like others before him—has pointed out, it was so far from being dominated by the representatives from Scotland, that there was only a handful of those representatives present and they had no decisive influence on the discussions. As he and others have also pointed out, the great assembly, so far from having exhausted the energies of the original 140 or more men appointed to attend its sessions, seldom, if ever, found a third of that number present, and, in effect, the great work which it accomplished was the product of no more than forty men, and, generally speaking, of fewer than that. It is upon the activities of this little group of men that Dr. Carruthers has directed his attention, and there is little that has escaped him of their motives, their opinions, and their activities. His work is therefore a supplement to the earlier works on the assembly, a commentary rather than a history—which it does not profess to be. It has, quite frankly, uncovered no new material. It is based, for the most part, on well-known printed sources; and it contains little, if any, new material, new points of view, or new interpretations. It is exactly what it professes to be, an account of the everyday work of the assembly. Despite all this it has been considered of enough importance to publish by the Presbyterian Historical Societies of England and America, and it takes its place without fear and without reproach in the lengthening list of publications relating to that great communion. If it does not add much if anything to our knowledge of that famous assembly, in many respects it makes clearer some of that assembly's activities, and it brings into higher relief some of its members and their doings and opinions. It is, in short, a recension of the doings of the assembly, and, approaching as it does those activities from a somewhat different point of view, makes a contribution to the most important meeting in the history of the Presbyterian church. It is, then, fitting that such a volume should appear to celebrate, as it were, the three hundredth anniversary of the assembly which did so much to establish the framework of the great communion to whose history it makes this contribution.

Harvard University

WILBUR C. ABBOTT

THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPEAN LABOR, 1918-1939. By *Adolf Sturmthal*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 389. \$3.50.)

THIS is an interesting and challenging book, primarily for the thesis developed by the author rather than for the material presented in the historical chapters.

The narrative part of the book presents, in a somewhat impressionistic way,

personalities and situations that are well selected as significant for "the tragedy of European labor." Ample space is given to the activities and failures of German Social Democracy in the Weimar days. Other chapters deal with the course of labor in Britain, France, Austria, and Sweden, the meandering policies of Communism in the postwar period, and the rise of Fascism.

It is difficult to add something essentially new to our knowledge of developments witnessed by so many and so frequently described. There are, however, many interesting details in this narrative, particularly where it deals with the acts and discussions of the Second International.

The character of the book is determined by the interpretation which its author applies to the facts he reports. His courage and his sincerity should be recognized even if his interpretation is accepted only with reservations.

To Mr. Sturmthal, the main reasons for the tragedy of European labor were inherent in labor itself. "The labor organizations across the Atlantic had too much the character of pressure groups and were not enough concerned with the fate of the community." They retained this mentality even when, at the end of the first World War, labor was called upon to form governments and to shoulder the fullness of political responsibility. The political labor movements of the period had lost whatever initial revolutionary fervor they had possessed. Instead of developing into a constructive revisionism they had become the captives of a narrow trade unionism. German Social Democracy in particular was the captive also of a Marxian fatalism or, at least, it covered its genuine lack of a constructive program with this theoretical clothing.

Harsh as these judgments are, they cannot well be refuted. Yet, as they appear isolated in the author's analysis, they burden European labor with more responsibility than it should fairly bear. The tragedy of European labor is only part of the European tragedy, and the responsibility for this broader tragedy is shared by all the social forces that dominated the European scene, by the powers of the past that clung to their feudal privileges, and by a bourgeoisie that was unwilling to accept labor as an equal partner.

The author is, of course, not blind to these broader problems. He recognizes that "whenever a balance of class forces exists, the smooth functioning of the democratic machinery depends upon the political wisdom of both sides engaged in the struggle," and he admits: "It is possible that labor would not have been strong enough to obtain a real leadership even if it had realized its task." The internal weaknesses of European labor were important for its tragic defeat, but not less important was the constellation of power in which labor tried and failed.

American University

OSCAR WEIGERT

FRANCE REVIEWS ITS REVOLUTIONARY ORIGINS: SOCIAL POLITICS AND HISTORICAL OPINION IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC. By Paul Farmer. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 145. \$2.25.)

AFTER a century and a half, there is no scientific verdict about the French Revolution. Our increasing factual knowledge simply bolsters rival theories; these in their turn are not disinterested but dictated by political and social attitudes. Objective truth, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, belongs only to individual facts, not to the choice of facts, their organization, their interpretation. History is constantly rewritten in terms of present struggles. "Historical study can serve its purpose better for a recognition that it is an inseparable part of the life of its times."

This little book is therefore a contribution, not to the dispassionate study of the Revolution, but to "social politics and historical opinion in the Third Republic." The master of the anti-Revolutionary school, in the first two decades of the regime, was Taine. Mr. Farmer might have noted the impression made upon his sensitive and timid soul by the Commune. His vehement criticism of Carlyle, a few years before, could very well be applied to his own picture of the Jacobins. To the same school belong Louis Madelin, Augustin Cochin, Pierre Gaxotte. On the other side, Alphonse Aulard and Albert Mathiez offer the Republican interpretation: Aulard a good Radical, Mathiez a Radical-Socialist, with Robespierre as his hero. Lefebvre, Guyot, Sagnac, and Pariset, with less obvious partisanship, continued the orthodox tradition. Throughout this period, the reactionaries were the better writers, the Republicans the more thorough scholars. Jaurès injected a new element: the study of the Revolution in the light of modern socialism.

Mr. Farmer might have added that in 1939, for the sesquicentennial of the Revolution, the problem had a last flare, soon lost in the great conflagration. Edouard Herriot's interpretation was so popular and conventional as to be negligible. But Bernard Fay had prepared a series, *L'Ame de la Révolution*, and contributed an interesting introduction, *L'Homme mesure de l'histoire*. His committee was the intellectual General Staff of Reaction: Cardinal Baudrillart, Louis Madelin, Octave Aubry, Pierre Gaxotte, Marquis de Luppé.

A few questions: Lamartine had been a Legitimist, but when he entered the Chamber, he declared he would sit "on the ceiling," above parties (p. 14). It would be only fair to Louis Blanc to state that the National Workshops set up in 1848 were not even a caricature of his project (p. 15). The presentation of Socialist evolution (p. 55) is so condensed as to be misleading. The Reformists had their way in France—provisionally; but they were defeated at the Amsterdam Congress; the result of "Unification" was to cause a schism and drive first-class men into the Independent Socialist group. Pierre Gaxotte did "formulate a

positive alternative to the Revolution which he condemned" (p. 103) in his paradoxical and arresting *Louis XV*. In a study of this kind, literature should not be neglected. It would have been interesting to contrast, *Quatre vingt treize*, by Victor Hugo, and *Les Dieux ont soif*, by Anatole France. The suppression of Sardou's drama, *Thermidor*, was worth mentioning, if only because it elicited Clemenceau's famous words: "*La Révolution est un bloc*." The whole subject is of burning interest: Vichy was the victory of the Taine school, the Free French are the heirs of Michelet, Giraud had to disappear because he was Yea-and-Nay. A capital study, scholarly in tone, quietly daring in thought.

Stanford University

ALBERT GUERARD

BREAD AND DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By *Alexander Gerschenkron*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 238. \$2.75.)

THE bulk of this monograph, written by a professional economist, deals with the crucial role played by one specific factor, agricultural protectionism, in the economic, social, and political developments of modern Germany. There exists already a substantial literature on the subject. The most noteworthy contributions hitherto made are those by Lotz, Sering, Brandt, and Jasny. Dr. Gerschenkron does not pretend to enter upon untrodden ground. Yet, being acquainted with an impressive body of economic and statistical source material, he has a good deal to add to what has been said before. He gives a detailed and thoroughly competent survey of the various stages in the protection of bread grains from the early 1890's to 1933, treated in close conjunction with the international fluctuations of food prices and food markets. The German solution, in contrast to the English, Danish, and Dutch adjustments to competitive conditions on the world market, ruled out the abandonment of a high-cost area in agriculture and the transition from production of agricultural staples to production of high-grade foodstuffs. The peculiarities of the German situation, largely due to the powerful influence of the Junker agrarians, are convincingly explained.

Dr. Gerschenkron is at his best when he confines himself to the analysis of functional and causal economic relationships and to a description of economic policies in operation. Unfortunately, however, he has set himself far wider and more ambitious objectives without having at his disposal either the knowledge or the tools to accomplish his task. He persistently attempts to link the historical ascendancy of wheat over rye consumption with the progress of democracy and with "democratic post-war reconstruction." To make facts fit into his touching faith in the coming "Farm-Labor Front," the author is compelled to classify rye, the major crop of the Junker economy, as a "reactionary" grain. The argument finally leads up to the thesis that a third world war can be prevented only by reversing German agricultural policy: "the keystone in the structure of peace-

ful international order." And as to the domestic developments of postwar Germany, the author predicts: "If the grain of the Junkers grows, the grain of German democracy will wither and perish from the earth."

Dr. Gerschenkron's knowledge of political and social history is distinctly spotty and, on the whole, quite shallow. This accounts for many misleading oversimplifications, fatal misunderstandings, and factual inaccuracies. Carried away by honorable emotions, he preaches a sentimental sermon in political religion, based on postulated catchwords, axiomatic platitudes, and exasperating generalizations. Throughout the book social and political terms and concepts are applied in a highly uncritical and hazardous fashion. Emotional bias plus muddled thinking is responsible for the alarming use of the word democracy and of undefined clichés such as "immature democracies," "semicomma democracies," "complete democracy," "democracy without democrats," "democratic strategy," etc. The realities behind the words hardly ever crystallize. Two fundamental things, however, do become perfectly clear. First, in time of war impartial thought is as desirable as it appears to be rare. Secondly, in our time an economist, who is dissatisfied with syllogistic exercises and eager to analyze the complex processes of a moving "political economy," is simply anachronistic unless he is also a well-rounded historian and political scientist.

Dr. Gerschenkron has overshot his mark and may have defeated his purpose. Nevertheless, if disentangled, there is much that is sound and solid in his book.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

DER FUEHRER: HITLER'S RISE TO POWER. By *Konrad Heiden*. Translated by *Ralph Manheim*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1944. Pp. viii, 788. \$3.00.)

THIS book is a thoroughly revised edition of the first volume of the biography of Hitler published by the author in German (Zurich) in 1936 and appearing the same year in English translation. It was partly built upon his *Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus bis Herbst 1933*, published in German in 1934, in English translation (*A History of National Socialism*) the following year. The first volume of the Hitler biography carries the story down to the blood purge of 1934. The second volume, published in German in the spring of 1937, presents the history of Hitler's chancellorship until the beginning of that year. It appeared in English translation in 1939 under the title *One Man against Europe*.

It is worthwhile to trace the sequence of the different editions in order to define the place of the latest work and, also, to demonstrate the author's constant occupation with the subject. Indeed, it may be truthfully affirmed that Mr. Heiden is the best-informed man about the history of Hitler and National Socialism. He has observed and studied the movement and its leader for more than twenty years. He has gathered material from the inside, from confidences

of leading Nazis, as well as from public documents and acts. In each new publication from his hands new material and new research are added. One may question certain aspects of his judgment and his psychology, but no objection can be made to the careful treatment and statement of facts; the volume now before us is a veritable gold mine for the study of Hitler and his political history up to the summer of 1934.

The most interesting new material utilized in this volume is the collection of Hitler's speeches from the period preceding his rise to power, speeches to a large extent missing in the collection published in English in 1941 under the title *My New Order*. By comparing the different prints Mr. Heiden is able to point out how Hitler repeatedly changed the texts of these early speeches in order to adjust them to new situations. This fact offers an interesting illustration of Hitler's methods of propaganda, his completely unprincipled attitude towards ideas and truth, his determination to conquer the minds of the audience of the moment. It helps, also, to confirm the author's general view of Hitler as, above all, a propagandist, and a man to whom propaganda is the very breath of life.

The aim of the book and the constant preoccupation of the author, amidst the abundance of minute facts, is to explain the psychology of Hitler, and the author is eminently able to illuminate this study by the highly interesting way in which he presents his facts. It is remarkable that Mr. Heiden has abandoned and even explicitly discards (p. 378) his earlier conception of Hitler as a "split personality." In the course of his studies he has reached a more complete understanding of the workings of Hitler's soul, and though he presents Hitler as a man who, as it were, steadily went beyond himself in acting up to greatness, he sees in this quality a natural expression of the essence of Fuehrer mentality. The author has also abandoned his former conception of Hitler's ambition as one fundamentally directed towards the winning of recognition; he has learned and understood that what Hitler wanted was real power (p. 257). Yet he has preserved something of his first idea that "Hitler's whole life was a perpetual unhappy love of the good bourgeois society"; therefore he may transfer to Hitler the aspiration of Hess for "a carefree private life" (p. 99).

The author is fond of paradoxes—they give life and excitement to his work—and he bases his explanation of the psychology of Hitler upon one great paradox—that the Fuehrer himself is a "nothing," a nonentity, a "depersonalized soul," and that he becomes a power only by identifying himself with the mass, by giving words to the aspirations of the mass. This conception of Hitler is carried through with great consistency but is necessarily often indirectly contradicted by the author himself when, repeatedly, he has to acknowledge the independent political perspicacity manifested by Hitler in many situations. This trait, the infallible ability to foresee the reactions of his partners and adversaries to his words and acts, is the true sign of a real politician. We have to recognize this kind of greatness in Hitler as long as he remained within the limits of the German world. When he

had to reckon with the reactions of foreign nations, he proved completely lacking in the understanding and the foresight that were the greatness of Bismarck; he erred hopelessly in his presumptions regarding the British, the Norwegians, the Russians, the Americans. Perhaps the author might have given a more complete picture of Hitler's character if he had also considered his foreign policies.

In spite of a brilliant presentation the picture given in this book does not entirely satisfy. The detailed study of Hitler's youth seems, in fact, to lead much further than to the statement that he manifested thus early the chief characteristics of his later life. It leads rather to the conclusion formulated in that remarkable novel about the Nazi movement, *Never Call Retreat*, written by an Austrian author who calls himself Joseph Freeman: "The dictator is a man who is so humiliated in his youth that he can compensate for his early agonies only by dominating the society which has inspired him with so much envy and hatred."

Because to Mr. Heiden, Hitler is essentially the product of a mass soul, it is necessary for him to describe the movement that brought forth such a Fuehrer. It is somewhat unfortunate that in this connection he employs the word "intellectuals" to define the class that gave support and power to Hitler. Much more fortunately he speaks (with capitals) of the Uprooted and Disinherited who formed the army of Nazism. But they were more than merely intellectuals, even in Heiden's large sense of the word. His account makes it quite clear that it was the impoverished of the bourgeois class and the unemployed of the working class who rallied around the Nazi party.

He undertakes also, in an "Interlude," to trace the whole mental background of the movement. It is curious that the responsibility for the German development towards Nazism is attributed almost exclusively to foreign influence, in particular to Napoleon, who is even made the originator of Hegelian philosophy, an idea which, I think, does an injustice to German competence.

There are other points, too, in which this book invites objection, but, in the last analysis, they are of little significance in comparison with the value of the book as a profound study of its subject, a work of absorbing interest, indispensable for all who want to know what Hitler and Nazism were.

Washington, D. C.

HALVDAN KOHT

BEHIND THE STEEL WALL: A SWEDISH JOURNALIST IN BERLIN, 1941-43. By *Arvin Fredborg*. [Literary Classics Edition] (New York: Viking Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 305. \$3.00.)

FREDBORG's book contains an account of developments inside Germany after the entry of the United States into the war and carries the story up to the summer of 1943. The chief interest attaches to the description of German reactions to the long series of defeats from Stalingrad to North Africa.

"Often," says Fredborg, "I had occasion to reflect on the fantastic tenacity that the Germans displayed; their endurance seemed only short of the miraculous." This phenomenon is explained not only by the organization of the state, the terror exercised by the Gestapo, and the docile mentality of the average German, but even more by a fear, common to most groups, of the consequences of the peace. The added strains during the last year caused, in particular, by the great bombings of the homeland, have underscored these observations. At the same time it is pointed out that beneath this wartime unity the Nazi state is slowly disintegrating. This progress finds expression in a loss of faith, general pessimism, frayed nerves, and widespread inertia. A curious fact, if true, is the high degree of wishful thinking among the supposedly realistic Nazi hierarchy as typified by its misjudgment of sentiments in the occupied areas, particularly in France.

While this report in essential respects confirms, for example, Howard Smith's *Last Train from Berlin*, it differs in approach from most reports by American correspondents. Fredborg sets himself the task to describe general developments, rather than to narrate firsthand observations. In order to achieve some sort of balance in a picture drawn from the Berlin horizon, he has to rely on rumor, incomplete and biased information, or mere speculation. As the time has not yet come when a true story of this period can be written, Fredborg's approach, rather than adding to the value of his book as a historical document, detracts from it.

When dealing with the wider aspects of the great conflict, Fredborg's views are nearsighted. With a certain accuracy in detail, there is a curious distortion in perspective. This is perhaps best illustrated in the concluding chapter containing the author's recommendations for the future. "What Europe needs today and tomorrow is an organic order that offers stability." While few will dispute so excellent a principle, some may query whether "to those who view the problem with steady eyes Germany is a historic necessity"; or whether "the victors will be forced to examine the idea of letting Germany adopt a monarchical form of Government."

Behind these and similar ideas lies the real problem of legitimacy which has occupied historians from Aristotle to Ferraro. No serious discussion of reconstruction is possible without consideration of it, but by a little more thought and a little less haste the author would have prevented misunderstandings as to his meaning in this respect. In conclusion, is it either wise or kind to suggest that the former Reichchancellor Bruening is a man qualified to lead Germany into this new "organic order"?

Princeton, New Jersey

JOHN LINDBERG

TRIUMPH OF TREASON. By *Pierre Cot*. (Chicago: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. 1944. Pp. 432. \$3.50.)

THIS book is not a "memoir" in the traditional sense, but rather a vigorous counterattack against the Vichy thesis that the Popular Front was responsible for the French debacle of 1940. Obviously Pierre Cot is not convinced that his political career is over, and therefore he is in no mood to write a "grand justification" for his place in the history of our times. He is, however, anxious to clear his own and his party's record of the charges that have been brought against them. Pierre Cot's political career as minister of aviation and as a prominent leader on the Left eminently qualifies him to speak in defense of the policies of the Popular Front.

The central theme of the book is the Riom trial. It was only M. Cot's fortunate absence from France that prevented his joining MM. Blum, Daladier, *et al.* on the benches of the accused, and this book, in part at least, might be considered to be the brief that he would have given had he been in court. But Pierre Cot is not content merely to proclaim and to prove his innocence; almost from the first page he begins to build up a damning counteraccusation to show that the very men that engineered the Riom trial were themselves culpable to a high degree; Marshall Pétain himself heads the list of M. Cot's culprits. It is not surprising to find a left-wing Radical Socialist discovering that the men of the Right are to blame for many of France's problems, but anyone who reads the book must admit that Pierre Cot has built up a very good case to prove his point.

The Riom trial provides a perfect foil. The case against the accused practically broke down under the weight of evidence that it uncovered, and M. Cot had only to add a few economic statistics and a little military "hind-sight" to prove conclusively that the trial was a farce. Indeed, the weight of evidence that was produced clearly showed that the two things vigorously excluded from the court of Riom, namely, the policies of French governments before 1936 and the military conduct of the war after 1939, definitely deserved the attention of the court. Of course, both of these factors exonerated the Left and incriminated the Right and the Army.

In his marshaling of statistical data and other materials M. Cot shows clearly that his earlier career as a scholar and professor still stand him in good stead as a politician. He has given the soundest defense of the military policies of the Popular Front that has appeared to date. It is regrettable that Pierre Cot has not found time to paint a more detailed picture of the government of France under the Popular Front, but we should be grateful for the insight that he has given us into the problems that a Leftist minister faced in the ministry of aviation.

This book is interesting and valuable to the student of recent history as much because it is a lucid statement of the political philosophy of a Leftist Radical Socialist as because of the bits of new information that are scattered throughout

its pages. It, however, was not written for scholars alone. It is a political document intended to justify the Popular Front and to convince Americans that they should give confidence to the Left if they want a Europe in which men can live in peace. He insists that the old middle-of-the-way "moderates" are gone forever from the European scene, and that Americans must choose between nationalistic conservatives, reactionaries, and fascists on the one side, and liberal and Marxist Leftists on the other.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

REQUISITION IN FRANCE AND ITALY: THE TREATMENT OF NATIONAL PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SERVICES. By *Maurice K. Wise*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 217. \$2.75.)

THIS is a study in the field of public law. The author does not attempt to include the application of the term "requisition" to international law. Thereby he does not touch the topic which is so much alive at this moment, namely, the power of an invading army to requisition supplies or services from inhabitants. Instead, he deals with the institution as it has developed within two modern states, France and Italy, previous to 1940, in an endeavor to learn how each state created legal means of calling upon its citizens for goods and services during great emergencies. This phase of the subject is of no less importance than the international application, for the growth of the power of any state over its citizens is an issue of great moment in our time. It is related to the fundamental issues of the present war.

Some of us have looked with concern upon the growing dependence of the French state upon government by ministers with "full powers." Men of widely separate parties have exercised one degree or another of emergency power not consonant with legislative or representative government. Totalitarianism was a startling phenomenon during the last years of the Republic. The historian is likely to find in this work more interest in this political tendency than in the legal questions discussed.

Dr. Wise shows in detail how this tendency grew in French law from the early days of the Third Republic, which were times of great danger and uncertainty, to the still more critical years following the rise of Fascism and Communism in our own time. The basic law of 1877 gave the requisitory power to military authorities in France to enable them to meet military needs; but by the modifications of 1915, 1917, 1935, 1936, and 1938 civil authorities were allowed to use this power for such civil needs as the increase of production of critically needed materials or for the breakup of a labor strike. The author says that from 1936 to 1938 "there was . . . a perfectly valid basis for the exercise of the requisitory power, but that does not eliminate . . . the suspicion that strike-breaking and not national defense was the end in view" (p. 22).

When the author turns to the study of the power of requisition in Italy under the liberal monarchy, he finds it so inadequately regulated for both its military and its civil uses as to be uninformative; but just prior to 1922, and also under the Fascist regime, it has been so fully developed and used as to be truly a manifestation of dictatorship. "Whereas it was originally intended that the requisitioning authority should give ample and concrete evidence of the urgent need for the sacrificing of private property, as is shown by the requirements in article 7 of a *motivated* decree, the tribunals increasingly came to presume the government action valid and to require that the individual prove it to be 'in an open and evident way, absolutely unjustified and arbitrary' before it could be declared null" (p. 102).

The study is carefully made, fully documented, well organized, and well written. Historians of twentieth century Europe will use it with confidence.

Claremont Colleges

W. HENRY COOKE

USSR: THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Walter Duranty*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1944. Pp. 293. \$3.00.)

THE confusion of thought in the United States about Russia, resulting from twenty-five years of anti-Russian propaganda, is difficult to dispel. After two and a half years of fighting the common foe we still approach every question concerning the USSR with strong, often violent emotions, and refuse to accept even established facts. Mr. Duranty's latest book is obviously designed to break down this either outspoken or implied antagonism.

Mr. Duranty tells an absorbing story of Russia of the past quarter century. Yet for one familiar with Russian history it is obvious that Mr. Duranty's understanding of Russia before 1917 is practically nonexistent. It is impossible, for example, to admit the generalization that ten and a half centuries of national existence preceding the Revolution left the Russian people in as low a cultural and political status as Mr. Duranty's introductory chapters would lead us to believe. It would be difficult, without detracting from Lenin's role in the success of the Revolution, to concede that his influence was so powerful and so lasting as to be responsible for everything that has occurred in Russia. Mr. Duranty makes it seem that Lenin's influence was not only all pervasive but also all good. It is obvious to any student of the Revolution that Lenin, too, made mistakes, and that in the creation of the USSR not all of his comrades were mere yes-men. But Mr. Duranty has made into virtues Lenin's own blunders that ultimately forced him to adopt the New Economic Policy. That "temporary retreat" was an admission of the defeat of militant Communism which Lenin should have been able to prevent had he comprehended the situation.

Throughout the book there is a glossing over, even deliberate omission, of unpleasant features of the Communist regime that would not be permissible in a

completely unbiased account. Without disputing the sagacity of the five-year plans, especially the collectivization of agriculture, one can hardly excuse the unnecessary cruelty and stupidity so prevalent in dealing with the peasants. Mr. Duranty gives a very interesting interpretation of causes for the hunger of 1932. Very likely it *was* due to stripping the peasants of seed grain for the army, yet it is well known that at the same time, in the breadbasket of Russia, there was a stubborn resistance to collectivization that resulted in decimating stock and lowering food production.

Primarily this is the story of Lenin, whom Mr. Duranty greatly admires, of his lieutenants and their struggle among themselves, and the final triumph of Stalin and the Communist party of which he is the indisputable leader. But it cannot be called a history of Soviet Russia. As a popular work dealing with so tremendous a subject, it has a number of shortcomings as well as some annoying errors, yet one must admit that Mr. Duranty's faith in the capabilities of the Russian people and their present leaders is amply justified by the events.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE W. ANDERSON

GREECE: A PANORAMA. By *Demetrius Caclamanos*. (London: Macdonald and Company. Pp. 159. 5 shillings.)

THE largest part of this book is devoted to "Greece in History," its keynote being "the continuity of the Hellenic Nation for thousands of years," despite long periods of foreign domination. The author naturally rejects the Slavonic theory of Fallmerayer, and, as Dr. Ernest Barker emphasizes in his foreword, he "does not forget that the history of the Byzantine Empire was a part of the glory of Greece." He describes it as a "great station of civilization, culture, and refinement," though Byzantine literature was rather imitative than original. The Frankish period, romantic enough to furnish material to historical novelists owing to the part played by women, is omitted from his sketch, though a section deals with the Turkish conquest, during which "the Orthodox Church became the ark in which the embers of national individuality were not only preserved, but in due course rekindled into the flames of insurrection." Byron's lasting influence in Greece, to which the reviewer can bear witness, is stressed: "He is more than a part of Greek history. He is a part of our national legend." To another Englishman, Lord Salisbury, "the Greek nation owes an eternal gratitude for his intervention" in favor of Greece at the Berlin Congress, and an Athenian street bears his name, as Gladstone's statue stands before the university.

Coming to modern times, the author, who edited an Athenian newspaper before his thirty years in the diplomatic service, seventeen as minister in London, can speak from personal acquaintance of the leading figures. As a youth in his birthplace, Nauplia, the first capital of Otho, he knew "Madame Kalliope" Papalexopoulou, who had danced with Otho when he landed there and lived to

conspire against him. The two great statesmen of modern Hellas, Trikoupes and Venizelos, are warmly praised; but he reminds us that, like Aristides, they both died in exile. The reviewer saw the former control a panic-stricken crowd during an earthquake in 1894 *majestate manus*; two years later he died in a Riviera hotel, the modern form of ostracism. Caclamanos took part in the Lausanne Conference of 1922, when the convention for the exchange of populations was negotiated, with the Turks—an exchange which has altered the face of Greece, converted Macedonian Greece into a fertile land, and removed causes of difference between the two ancient enemies. He carefully abstains from stirring up smoldering party hatreds at a time when unity is essential, but is not sanguine about “Balkan Union” in the near future. He traces its history from Rhigas, but omits Papanastasiou, its chief modern supporter. Altogether a useful summary.

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

Far Eastern History

THE MAKING OF MODERN CHINA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Owen* and *Eleanor Lattimore*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1944. Pp. 212. \$2.50.)

THIS book fulfills with rare fidelity what is promised in the title. The authors interpret China, not in the plausible language of present-day events and personalities, but in terms of her geographic setting and her well-authenticated history. One is impressed by the simplicity and directness of the approach, for, as stated in the preface, the authors make “no fuss about things like dates and names.” What are stressed are the broad basic principles—many of them vaguely known but here put into new contexts from which they often gain surprisingly fresh significance. The deftness with which the authors skim over vast reaches of space and time, picking out salient features here and there to illuminate and give point to a line of thought, would be dangerous were it not so skillfully done.

As in his other writings on China, Mr. Lattimore lays stress on what he calls “the balance of power between China and the ‘barbarians’ of the outlying regions.” By this method he can explain—for those who accept the approach—many hitherto unanalyzed aspects of Chinese history. Her power to absorb her nomad conquerors, for example, he attributes to the policy of encouraging them to become sedentary, and thus inducing them to relinquish the true source of their power—namely, their mobility.

In their analysis of China’s social structure the authors pay due attention to all types of men and occupations without overstressing—as so many writers have done—the significance of a particular social class and then interpreting the whole of Chinese society in terms of that class. The farmer, the merchant, the official,

and the scholar is each given his place. The authors find in the system of land tenure a partial explanation of the power of the official classes, and in their abuse of this power one reason for the recurrent rebellions which afflicted the country. Especially satisfying is their analysis of the "war-lord period" after 1914, and the march of events, political and economic, which led to the clash with Japan in 1931, of which the present war is only a continuation.

In a book so replete with suggestive generalizations it is surprising to find so few errors either of fact or overstatement. It is not entirely correct, however, to say that "China's most famous novel of sophisticated society, 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,' was written by a Manchu" (p. 108). True, the family of this novelist, Ts'ao Chan (d. 1763), was incorporated in a Manchu Banner, but he had a Chinese name and his not too distant ancestors were indisputably Chinese. Some readers will feel that in stressing the geographic and political factors too little attention is given to the lines of thought—Confucian and Taoist—which make Chinese social relations what they are, and certainly color their political activities. In a book written by a Chinese these factors would have had a larger place.

For the authors of this book, "China will become the symbol of Asiatic freedom under the democratic system." This prophecy is justified by China's geographical location, by the number and abilities of her people, and by their long practice of social democracy.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

American History

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Carl Brent Swisher*, Thomas P. Stran Professor of Political Science, the Johns Hopkins University. Under the editorship of Edward McChesney Sait, Pomona College. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1943. Pp. xii, 1079. \$6.00.)

THE story of constitutional development may be approached from several angles. Dr. Swisher has chosen in this massive volume of serious import to focus his attention less on the development of the constitutional instrument and the interpretive process to which it is nuclear than on the end results of that process. He makes the unfolding availability of public power for social purposes his predominant test of constitutional development throughout the greater part of his volume. His outlook, except in his final chapter, is functional rather than institutional.

The work falls, with some overlapping due to the topical method of treatment which is usually followed, into two parts. The first fifteen chapters (pp. 7-348) carry us through Reconstruction and its sequelae, the emergence of the

Solid South and the still persistent problem of Negro suffrage. The remaining twenty-four chapters (pp. 349-1035) bring the story down through the early months of our formal entrance into the current war. Despite an excellent chapter on the Civil War and a useful one on the constitutional phases of corporation law as it had developed prior to that event, the average page value of the book would have benefited from the omission of the first part. For readers familiar with the general subject it retravels well-known territory without adding much to their knowledge of it, while for the novice the treatment is at times too sketchy to furnish an adequate understanding of the problem being dealt with, or indeed just why there is a problem.

The contribution of the volume lies, therefore, in its systematic treatment of the period since about 1887, the period in which the issue of Nation *versus* State becomes subordinate to, when it is not a mere screen for, the ever more exigent problem of Government *versus* Capital. But even this part may, as regards freshness and fullness of treatment, be again divided into two parts, the second of which is devoted mainly to an account of the ideological background of the New Deal, the legislative reforms in which it is embodied, and the litigation to which this legislation gave rise. This portion of the volume is excellent both for matter and manner. At the same time, I feel bound to say that the role which the Constitution plays in it is a rather retiring one. Hamlet is off stage much of the time. The moral is, I suppose, that constitutional *development* has today flattened out into a process of constitutional *simplification*, a fact of which his concluding chapter shows Professor Swisher to be well aware. (See also his introduction, p. 4.)

Turning to more detailed criticism, ordinarily Professor Swisher writes with exemplary care and accuracy and declines to commit himself without the backing of substantial reasons. But in a volume of this amplitude, containing scores of statements of fact and dozens of those judgments which hover between the realms of fact and opinion, it is practically inevitable that some things should be said which challenge a reviewer's sense of duty to his calling. The suggestion (p. 148)—perhaps made ironically—that Jefferson's confessed willingness to run for a third term against "a monarchist" justified Mr. Roosevelt in his own mind in actually running against a "public utility magnate" is hardly to be taken seriously, especially since Mr. Roosevelt had undoubtedly made his decision before it was clear that the said magnate was to be his opponent. The quotation (p. 177) of Justice Holmes's dictum that "the power to tax is not the power to destroy while this Court sits" should have been accompanied with the explanation that the dictum is bunk, no tax having ever been set aside by the Court on the ground of its destructiveness; and that it is also an excellent illustration of a view of judicial power against which Holmes himself was constantly inveighing. The assertion that "only in the bank cases was his [Marshall's] task that of upholding the exercise of a positive power by Congress" (p. 179) overlooks his most important decision, that in *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, Mr. Swisher's exposition of which (pp. 188-192)

is entirely inadequate for an understanding of its significance in recent constitutional interpretation (see, *e.g.*, 312 U. S. at 113). Mr. Swisher inclines, indeed, to sum up Marshall's contribution as "essentially laissez faire in character." "There is little to indicate," he says, that Marshall "would have favored the enactment and enforcement of federal laws for the regulation of private enterprise" (p. 179). Equally, there is little to indicate the contrary, except the fact noted further along (p. 272) that "the country was steeped in the laissez faire ideas of Adam Smith, which were well adapted to the internal economy of a country largely agricultural, with industrial enterprise operating in isolated units and on a small scale." But at any rate, this is far better than Parrington's egregious attempt to discredit Marshall's performance because, forsooth, it did not reflect a mind which had been illumined by the gospel according to St. Marx. Reference is made (p. 197) to Justice Barbour's exploit in loading his "opinion of the court" in *New York vs. Miln* (11 Pet. 102; 1837) with doctrine to which his brethren had not assented, but his most important interpolation, one which was the literary source of Justice Roberts' misadventure nearly a century later in *United States vs. Butler*, is not mentioned (*Cf.* 5 How. at 544-5; 291 U. S. at 523-4; and 297 U. S. at 68).

The characterization of Justice McLean (p. 198) as a "nationalist" is inaccurate. McLean was a thoroughgoing dualist and regarded state and national powers as mutually limiting powers, "both being sovereign" (7 How. at 399). The statement that the states have been juggled into the position of governments possessing only delegated powers" (p. 201) is more confusing than instructive, and the trend it alludes to began under the state constitutions, not the Federal. The sweeping assertion (p. 262) that "no President exerted powerful leadership in Congress," that is, prior to the Civil War, overlooks the conspicuous contrary case of Jefferson (see Norman Small, *Some Presidential Interpretations*, etc., pp. 165-7.) The act of March 3, 1863, did not unambiguously "authorize" the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, but declared that "the President is authorized," etc., thus skirting the constitutional issue. The principal significance of the holding in the Prize Cases, their attribution to the President of power to reduce all the inhabitants of a region in insurrection to the status of enemies of the United States, and thereby put them out of the protection of the Constitution, is not indicated (pp. 297-8); and by the same token the constitutional significance of the Emancipation Proclamation is exaggerated (p. 302). Referring to *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, Mr. Swisher remarks: "The division between the two groups of justices was not so much a division as to the meaning of the language of the Constitution as it was a division based upon conflicting economic ideas" (p. 359). The suggested antithesis is a false one. In terms of "constitutional development" the difference was one of constitutional interpretation, whatever the reasons which account for the positions of the various justices. The effect of Conkling's contention in the San Mateo case (pp. 404-5) that "persons" in the sense of the Fourteenth Amendment included corporations was first reflected, not in the Santa

Clara case (118 U. S. 394), but in *Missouri Pacific Railway Company vs. Humes* (115 U. S. 512). The decision in the famous Sugar Trust case of 1895 Mr. Swisher pronounces "not illogical" (p. 430), but the extracts which he quotes from Chief Justice Fuller's opinion with respect to the sale and disposition of the products of a manufactory seem to be reconcilable only by some pretty arbitrary reasoning, in which in fact other parts of the opinion do indulge. It is putting it a bit strongly (p. 451) to say that Mr. Hughes in his book on *The Supreme Court* "let it be known that Justice Shiras was not" the justice who changed his vote in the Pollock case, although undoubtedly the weight of the evidence, as well as the tradition of the Court, points to Gray as the culprit (see the reviewer's *Court Over Constitution*, pp. 194-201). The opinion presented by Justice Harlan in the Northern Securities case was not a "majority opinion" (p. 508); he spoke for only himself and three others. It is also erroneous to state (p. 543) that in the Standard Oil case "The Court had merely adopted common law terminology." On the contrary, the Court there struck out the important word "conspiracy" in its common law sense from the Anti-Trust Act as regards the act's application to capitalistic combinations, although not as to its application to labor combinations. Woodrow Wilson did not, in his early work on *Congressional Government*, deplore "the growth of congressional despotism and the gradual eclipse of the Presidency" (p. 567). He thought he was there making a coldly factual presentation which might lead to the establishment of something akin to the cabinet system, and his *Constitutional Government*, written nearly a quarter of a century later, proceeded from a very different point of view which was suggested to him by his reading of Henry Jones Ford's *Rise and Growth of American Politics* and his own observation of the first Roosevelt's two administrations. Precisely speaking, the Senate does not *ratify* treaties (*cf.* p. 688), but *consents* to them—when it does consent. The President does the ratifying. The explanation which Mr. Swisher gives (p. 925) of the fiasco in one of the Hot Oil cases (293 U. S. 388), which was based on a provision of the Petroleum Code that had been eliminated by executive order, is erroneous. The correct explanation is given in the chief justice's opinion (293 U. S. at 410, 412).

The exposition given of the important Morgan cases (pp. 982-8) is good as far as it goes, but the probable significance of the Court's badly camouflaged defeat in them for the future of administrative law is insufficiently indicated. A few slips in diction ought to be corrected if opportunity offers: the use of "comprised" for "composed" (p. 627), the use of "erroneous," with reference to the Court, instead of "in error" (p. 405); the use of "promoting" instead of "provoking" or "arousing," in connection with "ill-will" (p. 801).

Professor Swisher's final chapter is among his most interesting and challenging. Turning aside from the New Deal reforms, of which he obviously approves, and from our participation in the current war, he faces squarely the question of their price in terms of constitutional structure; nor is the answer which he returns

to this question likely to comfort those nostalgic souls who would like to "go home again." Perhaps, indeed, he is rather too skeptical of the possibility of arresting the continued absorption of the remainder of the Constitution into the opening clause of Article II. What he has to say about the demise of the anti-third term tradition (p. 1023) and about the wartime relations of President and Congress (p. 1011) suggests as much, as does also his emphasis on "a high quality of governmental personnel" (p. 1028). What he seems to be saying, in short, is that institutions do not greatly count, if you only have the right people working them. The Constitution of 1787 sprang from a different idea, and one which, in the opinion of the reviewer, is still valid.

Princeton University

EDWARD S. CORWIN

THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM: THE FIRST TWO HUNDRED YEARS. By *Herbert M. Morais*. (New York: International Publishers. 1944. Pp. 320. \$2.75.)

In his book Mr. Morais has attempted to do something which is worthwhile. That is to bring to the general reader the story of the struggle for American freedom. It embraces only the period 1607 to 1801 and covers only the high spots of that time. In his preface the author states his purpose as three-fold: "to relate the salient political, social, and cultural facts of American history to material forces at play . . . to give the reader an understanding of how democracy was built in this country, of the battles, often bloody, that were fought on its behalf . . . to show how the struggle for freedom in America was connected with that in Europe."

Generally speaking, the book follows this plan. Unfortunately, however, the treatment is not always interesting and at the end becomes definitely confusing. While it is very nearly impossible even for the professional historian to assume a purely unbiased attitude, Mr. Morais leans so heavily toward the Left from time to time that the historical approach is surrendered.

The work, as is to be expected, does not produce many new facts and is a restatement of what has already been written. Neither does it give a new approach. The first part is chiefly a relation of facts, which will tend to bore the average reader for whom the book was intended. In brief it does not serve the purpose of a text nor does it make the struggle for freedom come to life.

There are occasional specific statements which are open to question. On page 216 Benedict Arnold is given the title of "blackest renegade of the Revolution." Surely, even though Arnold was a traitor some consideration should be given his patriotic activities as well. In chapter VII, dealing with the American Republic, 1783-1801, the author particularly permits his leftward point of view to bias his history. Throughout the chapter the implication is that the "Founding Fathers" were secretly and deliberately attempting to undo the great masses of the people (pp. 250-51). Again, he fails to take into account the situation at the time of the

adoption of the Constitution, on page 256 where he deals with ratification. Mr. Morais describes the men who sat in the Convention and those who advocated adoption of the Constitution as a merely self-seeking group of individuals. Similarly, Hamiltonian finance he represents as designed essentially to aid the few (p. 262), although in fact a sound credit was thereby established to benefit the nation as a whole.

Mr. Morais's treatment of the cultural development of the nation likewise becomes an unleavened compilation of facts. Two questionable points are his contention that war has a broadening effect upon the soldier and his statement that a group of brilliant French officers introduced the American people to the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, which in turn gave rise to a desire to throw off the "intellectual tutelage of England" (p. 285). It is doubtful whether the average American soldier then, any more than now, was greatly broadened intellectually by reading pamphlets around the fire or by seeing the country on the march. So far as French philosophy is concerned, its influence had certainly been felt in America before the advent of the French officers in the Revolution.

All in all Mr. Morais's book will not be especially stimulating to the general reader for whom it was intended. Somehow it falls short of portraying the vivid colorful nature of the American nation's beginning.

Pasadena Junior College

JAMES B. GIBSON

INDIANS ABROAD, 1493-1938. By *Carolyn Thomas Foreman*. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1943. Pp. xxiii, 248. \$3.00.)

COLUMBUS' discovery had principal issue in the descent of Europeans upon America. Not so much is made of it, but he also discovered the Old World to the natives of America and made it possible for them to go abroad. Such travels began immediately with the return sailing of the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, when nine kidnapped Ciguayans were taken along as exhibits of the novelty and value of the lands discovered. They have continued to the present, when the second World War finds thousands of tribesmen in uniform, serving as Americans on their nation's far-flung battlefronts. In Indian history these travels are perhaps incidental, yet Mrs. Foreman's 450-year survey casts much light upon the culture patterns of the red men as contrasted to those of the Europeans.

After the initial experiments in enslavement, most of those who were taken abroad during the colonial period were as delegations to be impressed with the might of the "mother country" and the majesty of the monarch. These early visitors were much gaped at—Pocahontas on this account was reluctant to attend St. Paul's. Many of their impressions were unfavorable—Pocahontas, again, had her feet bruised by London's cobblestones and was nauseated by the stench of the gutters. Most of these early visitors, however, had audiences with kings and

queens, were feted by the nobility, had their portraits done by the best artists, and in other respects were made much of. By the nineteenth century the auspices had become less favorable. The fashion then arose of taking Indians across the Atlantic purely for exhibition purposes, on the stage, at ale houses, or in sideshows. Such Indians were usually cruelly exploited and oftentimes were abandoned by unprincipled promoters. The exhibition of Indians reached its peak in the Wild West shows, and under Buffalo Bill, Pawnee Bill, and Colonel Joe Miller the Indians had more scrupulous attention.

A few of the individuals whose tours are recorded by Mrs. Foreman may be regarded as simply American. Such, for example, were Will Rogers, Private Joseph Oklahombi, a hero in World War I, and the Reverend Samson Occom, who had a hand in establishing Dartmouth College. Many more were distinctively Indian. From them frequently came an analysis of European society as penetrating as any European traveler offered of the United States. The book also abounds in amusing incident. Witness the Iowa tribesman, as a guest of Disraeli, seating himself on the bathroom floor to contemplate an "ingenious contrivance, which he would like to see adopted in his own country"; or the Indians in Paris in 1845 tabulating the number of women promenading with big dogs, with one, two, or three little dogs, carrying little dogs, and with little dogs in carriages. Or consider Buffalo Bill's Indians standing before a statue of Columbus. Remarked their manager: "There stands our advance agent, four hundred years ahead of us"; to which one of the braves replied, "It was a damned bad [day] for us when he discovered America."

Mrs. Foreman omits a few famous Indians abroad, such as Jim Thorpe; her account is fragmentary on some others, such as the Creek-Cherokee delegation headed by William Augustus Bowles. She achieves, however, an excellent overall view of a subject, many of whose parts are familiar but whose sum is new.

University of California at Los Angeles

JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY

THE PURITAN FAMILY: ESSAYS ON RELIGION AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. (Boston: published by the Trustees of the Public Library. 1944. Pp. 118. Half-cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.)

THIS small volume is the outcome, as the author states, of a Ph.D. thesis but it has none of the all too usual characteristics of that type of literature. It is a fine work of scholarship, not at all pedantic or immature, and is well written and interesting. The critical "apparatus" is all there although Dr. Morgan, young as I presume he is, has a style and knows how to write a book and not just do spade work.

The six chapters deal with various aspects of Puritan domestic relations, such as love and marriage, parenthood, the education of children, dealings with servants, and the family as a unit in the general social structure. The book is

based on wide research among printed and manuscript sources, largely in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library but also elsewhere.

On the whole the author's attitude toward the Puritans is *humanly* sympathetic but also, as a happy change from the filiopietism of so many New England writers, is *humanely* unbiased. In reading his pages one feels that here is the Puritan in his domestic life, neither damned nor sainted, but just as he probably was. In the final chapter Dr. Morgan explains why in his opinion Puritanism failed, and was bound to fail, to establish and maintain the political state at which the early founders had aimed. His views appear to me to be convincing.

Scattered through the volume are many fresh facts, or at least facts so arranged and stressed as to give new impressions to even one who like myself soaked himself in New England history for many years. As an example I might mention page 37 and following, where attention is called to the custom of exchanging children between Puritan households and the reasons the author suggests for the practice. He runs back to the apprenticeship of the Middle Ages but he could go farther afield, and I suggest he or his readers compare page 5 and following of the late Bronislaw Malinowski's *Sexual Life of Savages*. By noting this rather odd cross reference I am not taking a slap at the Puritans, for I really think that a comparison of the two passages might indicate that the instincts of both the Puritans and the Trobriand Islanders stemmed from something deeper in human nature than may appear.

So far as my knowledge carries me, the book seems to be extremely accurate and unusually devoid of slips. It strikes me as a very fine job, with the rainbow of hope of a lot of good work from the author in the future.

Southport, Connecticut

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

WILLIAM PENN, 1644-1718: A TERCENTENARY ESTIMATE. By *William Wister Comfort*, President Emeritus of Haverford College. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. 185. \$2.00.)

WILLIAM Penn is a very difficult man to appraise. No doubt he has been overpraised by some. Criticisms of him from Macaulay to more recent times have often been unjust. One difficulty is that he belonged to two worlds. That is geographically true in the sense that, although more than any other individual he stamped himself upon an American colony, he "remained an Englishman," very self-conscious of his English rights and responsibilities and forced by circumstances to be an absentee proprietor to Pennsylvania for all except two short sojourns in his province.

President Comfort's estimate of Penn occupies a brief final chapter; but he provides the reader with materials for an insight into Penn's prismatic personality by a series of prior chapters of decreasing length, dealing with the life of Penn, his relation to Quakerism, his service to religious toleration, his career as a founder

of colonies and a theorist on government, and his literary output. About Penn's life there are no new facts added. The older biographies would at this point have needed no tercentenary successor. In other matters President Comfort speaks with special qualifications. As a scholar of literature he can estimate the quality of Penn's writings, some of them too controversial to be included among *belles lettres* but none of them without some of the formal prose finish which, like the best writers of his time, Penn affected and all of them sharing some of the epigrammatic skill and ability to turn a phrase which puts Penn's *Fruits of Solitude* and perhaps *No Cross No Crown* among the English classics.

As a Quaker himself Dr. Comfort is able historically and temperamentally to enter into the feeling of the man of the world who turned Quaker at the age of twenty-three. Yet he can also be objective. He believes that the effect of Penn's Quakerism on his whole career is a key to much better understanding of the contradictory-looking aspects of his character than most biographers have attained. Penn attempted to implement within the limitations forced upon him the Quaker ideals of democracy, religious freedom, kindliness, and pacifism. The book is no apologia for either Penn or Quakerism. The author has not however concealed a presumption in favor of certain causes for which Penn stands; and the most jaundiced non-Quaker critic is not likely to quarrel with them. Two of those causes are still very much with us—religious toleration and peace. On these President Comfort has not said the last word, nor can Penn's position and experience be applied today without a good understanding of his times and of ours, which makes the difference between them clear. The validity of Penn's pacifism is if anything understated. That is probably well, as is also the frank acknowledgment of unquestionable defects of personal character—defects growing out of generous virtues—namely, Penn's poor judgment in his choice of men to trust, and his own unthrifty financial policies. Penn would no doubt be happy to realize that the penalties for these faults fell upon himself rather than upon other victims. Recent complaints of his autocratic attitude to the popular assembly must be somewhat discounted when taken in connection with the standards of colonial policy generally and with the actual trend in his own constitutions.

The book is well written. Much of it is freshly and happily expressed. The fastidious scholar who is annoyed to note two errors in the first four sentences need not be unduly discouraged about reading further. The score for accuracy throughout the volume runs much higher than that. Real skill has been required to embody in so short a volume so much of fact and comment and particularly so much well-chosen quotation from William Penn himself.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

HENRY J. CADBURY

ISRAEL PEMBERTON, KING OF THE QUAKERS. By *Theodore Thayer*. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1943. Pp. v, 260. \$2.50.)

THIS careful biographical monograph gives Pennsylvania's Quaker "king" of the middle eighteenth century the attention which has long been his due. Here is Israel Pemberton (1715-1779) as merchant, politician, friend of the Indians, Quaker leader, philanthropist, and proponent of peace. This Israel Pemberton, son of Israel, the merchant, and grandson of Phineas, one of the colony's Quaker founders, was born to lead. Energetic, conscientious, gifted, and shrewd, he typified the practical, political side of Quakerism in all its strength and weakness. Economic success as merchant-shipper-trader came early to Pemberton, but did not satisfy him for long, and from about 1750 to the Revolution he devoted most of his energy to trying to maintain Quaker principles in Pennsylvania. He led the Friends in and out of the Assembly in their opposition to the aggressive Indian policy of the proprietors and the frontiersmen, hoping to keep peace with the Indians and to preserve the liberties as well as the power with which William Penn had endowed the first generation of Pennsylvania Friends. The effort failed, as every student of Pennsylvania history knows. But Pemberton's bold attempt, played for high stakes against all and sundry—the Presbyterians of the west, Franklin and the so-called Quaker party, the Penns and their governors, and even the Crown itself—is here told for the first time in the rich detail which the great collection of Pemberton Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania makes possible.

It is this story of the desperate efforts of Israel Pemberton and his Quaker and Pennsylvania-German followers to prevent the Indian wars, and to stop them after they began in 1755, which the author tells most completely, if sometimes confusingly. He also describes Pemberton's part in founding the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in promoting, with Franklin and other public-spirited Philadelphians, philanthropic enterprises such as schools, insurance companies, organized poor relief, and the abolition of slavery. The story ends with Pemberton's reluctant withdrawal, in the late 1760's, from the struggle against England when it moved into the violent stage, and his retreat, together with all but the hot-bloods of Quakerism, into that "insipid neutrality" which John Adams so cordially detested in the Pennsylvania Friends. Their reward was pillaging and abuse from the English, and, for Pemberton and other prominent Friends, persecution and exile to Virginia by the Revolutionary authorities. The exile ended Pemberton's career, for sickness and death overtook him soon after his return to Philadelphia in 1769.

This study of his public life is strikingly impartial, considering the fact that the author seems to be neither a Quaker nor a pacifist. But for the reader who wants to know the Quaker world of which Israel Pemberton was king, the older writings of Isaac Sharpless on Pennsylvania Quaker life and politics are still a necessary supplement.

An excellent bibliography is marred by a few slips such as "Drinker and Sandwich Papers" (p. 236) for what is undoubtedly "Sandwith," and "*Quakerism Notes*" (p. 237) for *Quakeriana Notes*. Consultation of S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, would have dispelled the illusion that since there was no alternative labor supply in the South, Southern Friends, unlike those of Pennsylvania, made little headway in abolishing slaveholding among their membership (p. 200). Legal difficulties did delay the process somewhat in the South, but North and South alike, the renunciation of slaveholding by the Society of Friends sprang from religious motives, and nowhere were economic or practical reasons allowed to excuse the sacrifice once Friends became clear that their religious faith demanded it of them.

Haverford College

THOMAS E. DRAKE

EAST FLORIDA AS A BRITISH PROVINCE, 1763-1784. By *Charles Loch Mowat*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 237.)

DR. Mowat has admirably filled the hiatus in the history of the British American colonies with his scholarly monograph on East Florida as a British province. He gleaned from the dozen libraries of the United States that possessed source materials. Here we can only indicate the valuable results. The intrusions of South Carolinians and Georgians into Spanish Florida and the hostilities across the border between 1700 and 1756 impelled Britain, having conquered Havana, to exchange it for Florida in the peace of 1763.

The chapters of this book naturally divide into a group of five relating "to the years of peace, 1763-1774," and of the remaining four relating "to the years of the Revolution, 1774-1784."

The earlier part tells of the arrival of British troops from Havana; of Major Ogilvie's regime of twelve months and the departure of Governor Feliu and the Spaniards; of Governor Grant's judicious administration for almost seven years; and of Lieutenant Governor Moultrie's troubled tenure of about two years and eight months. The conciliatory and constructive work of the former and the contentious blundering of the latter are told in detail and fully documented.

On the eve of the Revolution came a new governor, Patrick Tonyn, who adopted Moultrie's personal foes as his own and saw in them an "inflamed faction" sympathetic with the Revolutionists. This did not prevent leading officers of the garrison from allying themselves with that faction. While Dr. Turnbull, a chief opponent, was in England, Tonyn broke up New Smyrna, and later forced both the doctor and Judge Drayton to withdraw to Charleston, South Carolina. Much light is thrown on these two men.

Another admirable feature is the surprising amount of material used to give a picture of social and economic conditions in East Florida in these years.

Tonyn was vigorous in all measures to keep his province active on the Loyalist side. Raids back and forth across the Georgia border, chiefly for cattle, and a force of nine hundred sent too late to help reduce Savannah were the chief military exploits.

The appendix contains three interesting sections: (1) tables of trade and shipping relating to East Florida, (2) acts of its First and Second Assemblies, and (3) lists of the provincial officials. The many explanatory notes are arranged according to the chapters, and there is a valuable bibliography. Dr. Mowat was happy in choosing his theme and exceptionally successful in developing it.

Ohio State University

WILBUR H. SIEBERT

THE ATLAS OF CONGRESSIONAL ROLL CALLS. Volume I, THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES AND THE CONGRESSES OF THE CONFEDERATION, 1777-1789. Edited by *Clifford L. Lord*. (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association. 1943. Pp. viii, 32, maps.)

FROM the above description one might reasonably infer that this is a book of only viii plus 32 pages, with maps scattered here and there. Be warned therefore that the main book is beyond page 32—some 266 pages of maps, with relevant summaries and ballots, and, in addition, 10 pages of index to that material. The first 40 pages are entirely occupied by introductory matter. Moreover, as is to be expected in a volume of maps, the pages are relatively large—10½ by 15½ inches. This reviewer has not weighed the book, but he is disposed to lend all credence to a statement of the editor that, but for certain severities to which this volume was subjected, it would have been so bulky as to require two men instead of one to handle it.

Further, be it known, this is only the first of a series of forty or more volumes projected to bring the atlas of roll calls down to 1937. The project is sponsored by the New Jersey State Planning Board and Columbia University and prepared by the Historical Records Survey of New York City and New Jersey.

Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox supplies a foreword, which reveals a broad and fertile comprehension of the making of this nation and therefore of the value of such a work as this to those who would better understand the processes of that making. Mr. Gustave Koepp, supervisor for the state of New Jersey, sets forth in a succinct preface the organizational methods employed, together with the mechanics of the project. The editor, Dr. Lord, in an introduction occupying one half the 32 pages and covering the whole project, explains why the project was undertaken and points out some of the more conspicuous ways in which the materials gathered together in this series of atlases will contribute to the enlargement of our knowledge of American history. "Obviously," says Dr. Lord, "new studies may be made of regionalism and sectionalism as reflected in Congress, of the stresses and policy conflict between urban and rural areas, between shipping community and manu-

facturing community, between planter and poor-white, between seaboard and back-country, between the coasts and the mid-west. . . New light will be shed on the rise, evolution and fall of political parties, new analyses of the workings of the party system and new studies of party factions will be made possible by these maps and roll calls."

Through these forty pages, then, the reviewer jauntily ambled, receiving ample entertainment and instruction by the way. (One small quaver of disappointment alone did he experience: The roll of members of the "Old Congress"—or Congresses, as Dr. Lord would seem to prefer—reveals some missing names.) When, however, he had come to the end of page 32 and turned the next leaf, to confront the section of maps, etc., then he could only stammer with Omar Khayyám:

There was a Door to which I found no Key;
There was a Veil past which I could not see.

The maps of the United States of the period—there are usually six to a page—diminutive though they are, show to the naked eye, as a rule, their constituent parts (of course Rhode Island now and then is lost beneath a slightly expanded dot and Delaware disappears under two dots); but the recorded votes, the "roll-calls," can be read only with difficulty without a magnifying glass, and the legends or summaries beneath each of the maps can scarcely be read at all without such aid. The maps were produced by the multilithographic process, and one does not need to be told that the texts of these pages have been greatly reduced.

If you wish to know more about the how and the why of this matter, it is to be found in two circular letters that followed close upon the heels of the book. They call attention to the scarcely excusable blunders of the printer. "C'est la guerre!" exclaims the editor (actually he uses plain English: "War is hell"). He does not plead for sympathy (but he deserves it and this reviewer for his part offers it in copious quantity); he merely explains that some of these calamities befell "while the editor was being drilled and indoctrinated in order to qualify as an officer and gentlemen of the United States Naval Reserve." There is one encouraging note in this communication extra: Future volumes of the series are expected to better these deficiencies by as much as fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent.

The task of completing the entire project is stupendous, nevertheless we join our hopes and prayers to those of the editor and the sponsors for its successful consummation.

Washington, D. C.

EDMUND C. BURNETT

DANIEL CARROLL: A FRAMER OF THE CONSTITUTION. By *Sister Mary Virginia Geiger*, of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Maryland. (Washington: Catholic University of America. 1943. Pp. x, 210.)

DANIEL Carroll II of Upper Marlborough, Maryland, was chosen in 1777 as one of the five members of the state council. He was forty-seven years of age and

from then until shortly before his death in 1796 he was continuously in the service of his state or of the United States. He resigned from the council to accept a seat in the Continental Congress, and in the same year was chosen a state senator. He was one of the Maryland delegation to the Federal Convention and was afterward elected to the first House of Representatives under the new Constitution. At the expiration of his term in Congress he accepted appointment as one of three commissioners "to survey the District of Territory . . . for the permanent seat of the government of the United States," a thankless task made all the more difficult by the fact that "several of his own relatives figured conspicuously among the wealthy land-owners within the District Line." He acted as commissioner for four years and then resigned because of enfeebled health. He died within a year.

Nearly twenty years of continuous and varied public service is worthy of record, and this doctoral dissertation was undertaken with the laudable intention of compiling all available information on Daniel Carroll. Unfortunately, owing to war conditions, certain material became inaccessible, and it was therefore wisely decided to offer for general use such data as had been gathered.

After clearing up some genealogical difficulties and confusion with other Daniel Carrolls, a detailed and illuminating account is given of the various landed properties that were the basis of the fortune of the subject of this study. There is also information upon his interests as a planter, slaveholder, and merchant, together with an indication of his holdings of public securities and stock in land companies.

All possible records have been searched to show the part he played in the public service as revealed in his expressed opinions and by his votes. He does not seem to have had a commanding personality but was rather a steady, well-to-do conservative, who could be relied on to attend to public business with the same scrupulous care he gave to his private affairs.

An admittedly incomplete sketch ought not to be criticized too sharply because of weakness in the matter of form and presentation, although it leaves something to be desired in that respect. It is permissible, however, to express regret that there is but little on the personal side. Perhaps there is nothing available as to his appearance or habits, so Daniel Carroll still remains a shadowy figure of a good citizen and faithful public servant.

Bar Harbor, Maine

MAX FARRAND

MEET DR. FRANKLIN. (Philadelphia: Franklin Institute. 1943. Pp. vi, 234.)

This volume is a collection of thirteen papers by twelve authors who were invited to take part in a series of "meet Dr. Franklin" conferences sponsored by the Franklin Institute. Carl Van Doren contributes the opening and closing papers; the others are by Robert A. Millikan ("Scientist"), Max Farrand ("Autobiography"), Conyers Read ("Franklin as the English Saw Him"), Verner A.

Crane ("Journalism in England"), Robert E. Spiller ("Student of Life"), George W. Pepper ("Moulding the Constitution"), Bernhard Knollenberg ("Philosophical Revolutionist"), Gilbert Chinard ("Looking Westward"), Lawrence C. Wroth ("Printer at Work"), Carl R. Woodward ("Adventures in Agriculture"), and Julian P. Boyd ("Friend of the Indians"). The titles indicate the various activities of the "many-sided Franklin" that are dealt with, except perhaps the one chosen by Conyers Read, whose paper, a very good one, deals rather with the influence of England and his life in England upon Franklin's ideas. The papers are all by competent authorities, they correct many popular misconceptions about Franklin, and they add a good deal to the knowledge of even those who have met Dr. Franklin and know him very well. Taken as a whole, they present Dr. Franklin as a very great, wise, and lovable man, and an extremely versatile one; if he had limitations of mind or character one does not find them very clearly or fully brought out anywhere.

No one can deny that Franklin was, as Van Doren insists, a "very great man." All things considered he was the ablest and most versatile mind that has appeared in the United States; and of all the true stories of home boys who have made good, his is by all odds the most spectacular and incredible. Consider: An obscure apprentice runs away from home. In a strange community, without friends or money, he succeeds in business and accumulates a modest fortune. Devoting himself to experiment, he acquires within two years a "keener insight into the fundamental nature of electrical phenomena" than anyone else had at that time or than anyone else would have again for more than a hundred years. As a civic benefactor, he founds a library, a philosophical society, and a university. As a statesman, he is one of the outstanding leaders in winning the independence of his country and in forming its government. As a diplomat, he represents his country for twenty-four years abroad more competently than any other diplomat has ever done, and is chiefly responsible for the two treaties that guaranteed its independence. And when he dies he is universally acclaimed on two continents as inventor, scientist, statesman, writer, sage, philosopher, and friend of the human race. My first impulse is always to say, I don't believe it! Nevertheless, the story is attested by tons of unimpeachable historical evidence; and unless I am prepared to abandon all faith in human testimony as a reliable method of establishing historical facts I must accept as true a story more romantic and glamorous than any novelist would have the brains or the brass to invent.

What is the explanation of these achievements of the first order in such diverse fields of activity? Three points may be made. One is that Franklin lived in a country where careers were open to talent more effectively than in any country in the world at that time. Another is that he had a mind of the first order, a mind curious, critical, acquisitive, and flexible, so that whatever he might concern himself with—storms blowing from the northeast but moving towards it, electrical phenomena, political revolution and the art of government, the growth of popula-

tion, the advancement of knowledge, smoky chimneys, the common cold, or the best device for getting books from high shelves—whatever the problem, the necessary facts seemed always at hand, and the supple mind, grasping with equal facility the particular and the general, seemed always ready with some solution which if not always the right one was extremely likely to point in the right direction. The third point is that Franklin had the good fortune to be in tune with his time. Both his qualities and his limitations were of the eighteenth century. He might stand as the personification of the Enlightenment—of its skeptical and pragmatic temper, its dislike of “enthusiasm” and dim perspectives, its aversion to cruelty and hocus-pocus, its preference for what is open and visible, its faith in “reason,” and its conviction that the universe, being essentially devoid of mystery, is willing and eager to yield whatever secrets it has to common sense questions.

There is a profound symbolic significance in the myth that Franklin was not asked to draft the Declaration of Independence for fear he might put a joke in it. All of his major enterprises, with one exception, were undertaken either from a sense of duty or as the result of pressure from outside. His scientific investigations provide the one exception, the one enterprise to which he seems to have been driven by some compelling inner impulse, and to which he always returned whenever the outer pressure of business or politics was withdrawn. It is for this reason, perhaps, that when we meet Dr. Franklin the scientist he seems not quite the same man as Dr. Franklin the business man or politician. In all of his dealings with men and affairs one feels that he is not wholly committed. There is after all something casual about his efficient dispatch of the business in hand, as if it were important but not profoundly so; and on that placid countenance there is often the bland smile which seems to say: “Men are after all but children, needing to be cajoled; affairs a kind of game, necessary indeed, but not to be played without finesse.” In dealing with natural phenomena it was not so. Nature was the one mistress to whom he gave himself without reserve, and served neither from a sense of duty nor for any practical purpose. Nature alone met him on equal terms, with a disinterestedness matching his own; needing not to be cajoled or managed with finesse, she enlisted in the solution of her problems the full power of his mind. In dealing with nature he could be, as he could not be in dealing with men and affairs, entirely sincere, objective, rational, could speak his whole thought without reserve, and with no implication of a stupendous cosmic joke being concealed somewhere in the premises.

Franklin was indeed “many-sided.” From the many facets of his powerful mind he emitted a brilliant light on all aspects of human life; it is only in his capacity as a natural scientist that the light is entirely unclouded. Professor Millikan includes Franklin with the fourteen “most influential” scientists since the birth of Copernicus. If he had devoted the last forty years of his life, as he had hoped to do, entirely to scientific investigation, he would undoubtedly have been a greater scientist than he was. We need not regret that, however, since in that case he

would have been less great as a man, as a citizen, and as a friend of the human race.

Cornell University

CARL BECKER

THOMAS PAINE: REPRESENTATIVE SELECTIONS, WITH INTRODUCTION, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND NOTES. By *Harry Hayden Clark*, Professor of English, University of Wisconsin. [American Writers Series, Harry Hayden Clark, General Editor.] (New York: American Book Company. 1944. Pp. cli, 436.)

PROFESSOR Clark's introduction to this selection of Paine's writings is the best analysis in print of Paine's ideas and their sources. Dealing with the ideas under five major headings—religious, political, economic, humanitarian, educational—the author sets forth what Paine's particular ideas on each of these subjects were and how he arrived at them.

The most important source for his religious ideas was not Quakerism but Newtonian science, which revealed to Paine a harmonious and universal order. *The Age of Reason* was not written by an atheist but by an idealist, by a man who said, "I believe in one God, and no more," and who feared that mankind would "lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true." Paine wrote his book to win people to agreement on the "simple principles which he supposed all religions in all times and in all lands had in common."

So important in fact were Paine's religious ideas, that Dr. Clark holds untenable the popular notion that Paine was an honorable champion of political freedom who in his old age turned to religious infidelity. On the contrary, says Dr. Clark, the evidence seems to show that his political ideas were formed later than his religious ideas and grew out of them.

In some sense also his economic and social ideas grew out of his religious concepts. Perhaps it is truer to say that all had their source in the "Newtonian concept of a universe guided by inexorable and divinely-created law" (lviii). Paine in fact tried to apply Newtonian natural law to the field of economics and became a free trader and an economic internationalist rather than an agrarian.

As a practical humanitarian Paine was interested in social and national security, advocating state aids and pensions, the abolition of dueling, national disarmament, and international organization. The progress that he believed the nature of the universe made possible in these and other fields was to be gained through education and the free play of reason.

Paine was thus a complete child of the Enlightenment, and the inconsistencies and conservatism of his early writings, especially in America, were the result of immaturity, not intellectual incompetence. It was when he joined the French ideologues that he fully formed his system of ideas.

The introduction is followed by the text of *Common Sense*, *The Crisis*, *The Rights of Man*, *The Age of Reason*, and *Agrarian Justice*. Miscellaneous selections

at the end contain three of the less well known of his American writings, the "Public Good," "A Letter to the Addressers," and "A Letter to George Washington." Notes at the end of the book are helpful in explaining the background of each selection.

Vanderbilt University

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE SPY IN AMERICA. By *George S. Bryan*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1943. Pp. 256. \$3.00.)

FROM the title of this book one might possibly assume mistakenly that it dealt with espionage in the United States in recent years. Actually, of the eleven chapters, five relate to the American Revolution and three to the Civil War. Another chapter, called "Diversions and Interludes," passes over the years between these wars in a few pages, while the last two narrate incidents in the Spanish-American War and the first World War. There is nothing in the volume on industrial or commercial espionage. The treatment is episodic for the most part. The better known and the lesser known spies of American history have each their turn, some receiving a few pages and others but a few paragraphs or sentences.

The author is an expert library researcher, and has missed few printed sources, old or new, primary or secondary, of any significance. He has used these discriminatingly, and they are all listed in a bibliography that is useful to anyone interested in the subject. A few manuscript sources are added, notably files of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, including a "Report and Letter Book A, Secret Service, Army of the Potomac." It is difficult to tell just what this new material has added to the narrative of Pinkerton's operations in the Civil War because the volume is not documented by footnotes, but the contributions do not appear to have been significant.

The author has succeeded in his purpose, the production of a readable one-volume account of espionage activities in our wars for a popular audience. The book contains little that need detain the serious historian. The latter will continue to consult Van Doren, Pennypacker, and other standard authorities on espionage in the American Revolution. He will still lack a treatment of the subject for the Civil War that can be used with confidence. He will hardly take the single chapter on the World War seriously. A writer in a field as obscure and tricky as that of espionage, if he expects his work to stand as authoritative, must thoroughly document his facts and interpretations. He must work patiently through manuscript and archival sources that are not yet thoroughly exploited and some that have not yet been opened to research. He must forego the writing of dramatic stories of spy adventures and appraise the effectiveness and contributions of espionage systems and activities as an integral part of military operations. Possibly no one will ever do this. The author did not intend to do it.

The National Archives

OLIVER W. HOLMES

THE WAY OUR PEOPLE LIVED: AN INTIMATE AMERICAN HISTORY.

By *W. E. Woodward*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1944. Pp. 402. \$3.95.)

THIS "intimate American history" is a series of sketches or episodes in the lives of Americans of various periods. The Americans chosen are of different walks and ways of life and from different sections of the country. They are all quite frankly fictional characters, and the author is thus free to use them as he wills as the vehicles for the presentation of a multitude of details pertaining to habits, fads, fashions, and customs.

Mr. Woodward, in his research for other purposes, has run across a great number of interesting bits of information on the way in which our forebears lived and conducted themselves, and his curiosity has been aroused as to the origin of many names and expressions. He has discovered the reason back of the expression "at loggerheads," for example, and the origin of the term "tenpenny nail." He gives "journey cake" as the origin for the name johnny cake and states that corn pone derived its name from the Indian "appone."

The drinking habits of the early Americans are given due attention, and the tobacco chewing of the multitude is mentioned but without the shocked censoriousness of Dickens' *American Notes*. Styles and habits in dress are described with unusual minuteness. Conditions of travel receive attention, and methods of agriculture are listed. All in all, the book is a potpourri of every variety of odds and ends of information gleaned along American folkways.

The device of fictional characters and situations offers a convenient method of portrayal of life in the periods chosen, but it is also at times an obstacle in fixing attention upon the folkways depicted, for interest in the actors in each scene soon transcends any interest in the social history thus introduced, and the reader, ignoring the detail, regrets that the chapter's end carries him on to other scenes and characters. The author's style is pleasant; there are touches of humor and satire to relieve the insistent detail; and the material is always interesting.

The social historian may be permitted to regret the paucity of the bibliography which scarcely taps the great fund of such material. For every travel account listed a dozen more might be cited, some of them—as, for example, Fredrika Bremer's *Homes of the New World*, Francis Grund's *The Americans*, and Charles Pancoast's *Diary of a Quaker Forty-niner*—teem with just the detail in which Mr. Woodward delights.

There may be some justification for the exaggeration "No one in that era ever took a bath" (p. 40), but there should have been greater care in many statements of fact scattered through the book. The first temperance movement began long before the late 1820's (p. 61), and the temperance advocates had an extensive literature to their credit before that date. The first known temperance society was founded in Moreau, New York, in 1808, and the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was as early as 1813.

Mr. Woodward causes his characters to appear surprised at a woman traveling alone in the 1830's. Such travel was far more common than he seems to believe. This reviewer, for instance, has family letters describing much the same trip as that of his Susan Pettigrew but starting in New Hampshire and ending farther west in Illinois. And this woman was responsible not only for herself but for two children under four years of age.

It might have been better to omit the description of tobacco planting (p. 182) in the account of a Georgia town in 1807, for tobacco certainly was not a common or staple crop in that area. And the statement that there were no juries in New England is unfortunate. Charles M. Andrews, in *The Colonial Period in American History* (I, 460), gives full detail for the operation of the jury system in the period of Mr. Woodward's sketch. The statement that a McCormick reaper was purchased in 1836 in Ohio should be checked with W. T. Hutchinson's biography of Cyrus Hill McCormick, which states definitely that McCormick did not give public demonstrations of his machine for some years after it was patented, did not sell machines until 1840, and did not market it widely until after 1848.

These errors and others of similar nature, are minor, however, and *The Way Our People Lived* deserves a wide reading as a popularization of a field no longer new to the scholar but still fresh and interesting to the layman.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

PILLS, PETTICOATS, AND PLOWS: THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY STORE. By *Thomas D. Clark*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 359. \$3.50.)

DURING its heyday from 1865 to 1915, the country store was the key social and economic institution of the New South. Professor Clark has written its history in a highly readable, anecdotal style aimed at the general reader who would balk at statistical tables and dry analyses.

As the title would suggest, the author has catalogued with loving care the fabulously varied wares of these rural emporia, and thus contributes a vivid description of the buying habits of the Southern farmer. His statement of the role of the store, while clear, is more entertaining than definitive. However, he has assembled at the University of Kentucky a large collection of business records out of which further studies should grow.

Politicians and critics of the Southern economy heaped copious abuse upon the storekeeper because "the merchant was the one tangible factor that could be spotted in the complex one-crop . . . system of Southern agriculture." Professor Clark defends him as "only a part of an inefficient furnishing system rather than the system itself." Yet because he was the focal point in the system and kept full records, through him the economy can be most accurately analyzed.

With the introduction of tenancy immediately after the Civil War, stores sprang up all over the South. Through them Northern wholesalers funneled goods

to impoverished whites and freedmen. These, with boundless optimism and no money, signed crop liens and thus enmeshed themselves in the vicious credit system. The Negro soon "was back in slavery, not to a plantation-master, but to a conscienceless counter book"—and the white farmer shared the chains, for the counter book knew no white supremacy.

The merchant carried about 90 per cent of his business upon credit and normally marked up his shoddy, inferior goods approximately 100 per cent. Flour wholesaled at \$3.47 per barrel in 1894 and retailed for at least \$7.00. The customer paid a markup of 25 per cent or more for credit, 10 to 50 per cent for profit, and though most loans ran but seven or eight months, a flat 12½ per cent interest. The storekeeper made similar high profits through selling fertilizer and supplying cash for lodge dues, doctor's bills, and mail orders. A Georgia editor in 1882 "estimated that a farmer borrowing and paying back \$800 for each crop would within a five-year period pay out \$2800 in interest."

The storekeeper kept his debtors growing cotton for cash while he sold them immense quantities of salt pork and corn from the Middle West. He influenced local politics (suffering but little from Populist attacks) and was usually a power in church and school affairs. All too often he foreclosed or settled out of court, and became an owner of sizable acreage. Occasionally he became wealthy, but he himself paid large interest rates to wholesalers, and took large risks upon the cotton crop.

Despite its vicious inefficiency, the country store was a fascinating conglomerate of sights and smells. Professor Clark regretfully records its decline with the advent of boll weevils, automobiles and paved highways, and low-priced chain stores.

University of Maryland

FRANK FREIDEL

FROM WILDERNESS TO EMPIRE: A HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA, 1542-1900. By *Robert Glass Cleland*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xii, 388, xiv. \$4.00.)

DR. Cleland has devoted his life largely to a study of his native state, California, and his attachment to it is obvious throughout his work. He has made some substantial contributions to California history in the American period, and we may assume that what he does will be well done. This volume is, in a way, a summary of his studies.

One of the excellent qualities of the volume is to be found in the clarity of his description of expeditions. In this particular I think he has surpassed most writers of California history. The minute and interesting incidents of the camping parties or of the routes over which many of the expeditions passed are vividly portrayed. One reads the details of the Anza expedition with a real sense of the hardships and dangers which members of the party experienced, but the main objective, the founding of the mission and presidio of San Francisco, is very lightly treated.

The chapter on "Gold" presents the darker side of the overland expeditions to the gold fields, and great attention is paid—frequently through well-selected passages from earlier works—to individual expeditions and to the sufferings experienced by the adventurers. In this chapter the author deals also with the effect of increased immigration on cities and towns throughout the state. He gives some attention also to mining methods as worked out in the mining fields, but fails to refer to the far-reaching importance, in many instances, of the rules and regulations made by these miners to future state and Federal mining laws.

The purpose of chapter 18, "The End of Isolation"—a particularly pertinent title—is to show the significance and importance of the development of transportation in California's history.

One of the disappointing things about the work is the tendency of the author to quote too frequently from his former associates. A very large part of his chapter on "Spanish Exploration and Discovery" is taken from Chapman's *A History of California: The Spanish Period*, which was published as part of a two volume work on California by Chapman and Cleland about twenty-five years ago. He errs also in quoting too frequently from his own writings. Another disappointment is to be found in his tendency to ignore outstanding incidents and to overemphasize incidents of minor importance. For example, he gives practically nothing on the settlement of San Francisco, and the name of San Francisco de Asís does not appear in the index.

While Dr. Cleland's work on California measures up to his usual scholarly attainments and attractive style, he has added nothing to his reputation as a student of California history. And for a judicious and scholarly selection of material that goes to make up a well-rounded history of California, for a proper distribution and arrangement of such material, and for the style in which the author presents it, the general reader along with the scholar will continue to regard John Caughey's *History of California* as the outstanding recent work in the field.

Mills College

CARDINAL GOODWIN

GOLD RUSH: THE JOURNALS, DRAWINGS, AND OTHER PAPERS OF J. GOLDSBOROUGH BRUFF, CAPTAIN, WASHINGTON CITY AND CALIFORNIA MINING ASSOCIATION, APRIL 2, 1849-JULY 20, 1851. Edited by *Georgia Willis Read* and *Ruth Gaines*. With a Foreword by F. W. Hodge. Volume I, WASHINGTON CITY TO BRUFF'S CAMP. Volume II, BRUFF'S CAMP TO WASHINGTON CITY. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. lxxxviii, 630; viii, 633-1404. \$15.00 a set.)

PREPARING the "journals, drawings and other papers" of J. Goldsborough Bruff for publication began as a labor of love on the part of the co-editors and developed into a monumental piece of historical research. Before J. G. Bruff left his position, in the year 1849, to captain a well-organized company of gold-seekers across the

continent to California, he had been draftsman to the United States Bureau of Topographical Engineers. Both his training and his position of authority in the emigrant company qualified him to keep a particularly accurate and valuable journal of its daily progress. Sick or well, nourished or hungry, he recorded faithfully the minutiae of trail travel and camp life, richly illustrating his account with sketches, fully intending to arrange them for publication when his trek should be over. In this project he did not succeed. Now, after almost a century, Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines have fulfilled his wish; and, although it is the historical researcher and field-worker who, at this late date, reap the benefits of his work, it is in a great measure a justification of his efforts.

Captain Bruff's company, entitled sonorously "The Washington City and California Gold Mining Association," moved west along the south bank of the Platte in an entirely ordinary manner. There were of course some set-backs—accidents, illness, quarrels, anxiety, and exertion almost beyond endurance; but to balance the scales were their good healthy appetites, interest in the strange scenery, and excitement over their great adventure. It was a normal crossing of the plains, under leadership better than average, except that for various reasons they lost time. Half of September had passed before they found themselves on the great bend of the Humboldt River. The Sierra Nevada Range lay ahead and, from its foot, a desert stretched to meet them. There were three main routes which they might take and Captain Bruff decided (as had about half of the forty-niners) to take the misnamed Lassen's "Cut-off" that turned to the right and circled far to the north of the others. It was a grave mistake. Before they could negotiate its longer mileage the rains started. The endless cavalcade of wagons churned the trail into a sea of mud in which, at the worst spots, animals sank from sight and died. Possessions were cached or discarded and the suffering gold-seekers left their wagons and packed into the Sacramento Valley with whatever animals remained to them. It is here that Bruff's diary becomes practically unique for, in order to avoid wholesale abandonment of the precious instruments of his profession, he constructed a flimsy shelter and remained beside the trail during the winter. Ill, racked with pain, harassed by wolves and grizzlies which he was too weak to risk shooting although starved to the point of eating flesh from the long-dead oxen, he never lost his interest in the sorry pageant that passed his snow-covered tent. He watched and wrote down details for posterity which the exhausted emigrants plodding toward the valley never noted for themselves. At length actual starvation forced him to attempt the remainder of the journey to Lassen's Rancho, where, by dint of exertions far beyond his strength, he arrived and eventually recovered some measure of good health.

His activities then comprised the surveying of old Benton City at the request of Peter Lassen and an unsuccessful prospecting trip with that picturesque individual, whom he frequently designates as "Old Pete." A sojourn in Sacramento City, recently recovered from the cholera epidemic of 1850, some further wander-

ings in California, and a return to his eastern home across the Isthmus of Panama add to the value of his notes. The co-editors have added several appendixes of varying values, outstanding among which is Bruff's map of Lassen's Cut-off—probably the first one ever drawn. All-in-all their compilation of the Bruff journals and papers is perhaps the most significant gold-rush diary with pertinent data now known to historians.

Too much cannot be said of the tireless research accomplished by the co-editors. It was not all desk work. They traveled many miles in Bruff's footsteps, as this reviewer knows from having met them in Lassen County several years ago. A careful perusal of their voluminous critical notes will give the reader several interesting lines of study not readily found elsewhere; one being information on the organized, sometimes uniformed and almost military companies of gold-seekers that left the east coast so hopefully California-bound. The editors have patiently consulted the files of early publications for notices of their departure and keep the reader oriented as Bruff mentions them casually in his daily notations.

The bibliography, although embracing surprisingly few manuscripts, is comprised of solid, reliable material including many excerpts from newspapers of the day. The index is long and adequate. If one were searching for truthful adverse criticism of this compilation it could only be said that the two volumes are too heavy for comfort and that *Gold Rush* is definitely not a book for the general reading public. To which answer might readily be made that it was intended only for the use and for the pleasure of history lovers to whom each added page is a joy.

Gold Rush is a real contribution to our knowledge of the forty-niners—a work of distinction.

Alameda, California

IRENE D. PADEN

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION IN OREGON. By *Henry Villard*. Edited by *Oswald Garrison Villard*. [University of Oregon Monographs, Studies in History, No. 1.] (Eugene: University of Oregon, printed at the University Press. 1944. Pp. v, 99. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.)

HENRY Villard keenly appreciated the historical significance of the railroad controversies in which he had taken part. To make sure that justice was done him, he undertook on two occasions to present his side in these controversies, the first of which was his *Memoirs* in two volumes and the second is the document under review. This document—originally published in the *Portland Oregonian* in 1926—offers in greater detail than do the *Memoirs* some aspects of the history of transportation in Oregon to 1883, as Villard saw them. The men who preceded him as railroad promoters in Oregon are pictured as coarse, repulsive, treacherous, “insinuating swindler[s],” “arbitrary and brutal master[s],” who made reckless and “corrupt use of money.” Ben Holladay is the principal villain who misrepresented facts in selling bonds, bribed legislators, broke his plighted word, swindled and nearly wrecked the companies he controlled.

Villard was employed by German bondholders to protect their rash investment in frontier railroads. By a series of maneuvers he ousted Holladay from a number of Oregon railroad and steamship companies, control of which Villard then centered in a holding company. Having acquired large property holdings in Portland, Villard championed the welfare of that community. Portland wanted direct eastern railroad connections to make it independent of the Southern Pacific and hoped to become the outlet for the entire Pacific Northwest. These objectives could be accomplished by inducing the Northern Pacific to form a junction with Villard's Oregon Railway and Navigation Company somewhere on the south bank of the Columbia. This became an obsession with Villard, who was not troubled that Congress had stipulated that the Northern Pacific was to build to Puget Sound with a branch to Portland. If the Northern Pacific could be induced to give up plans to build over the Cascades to the Sound and down the Columbia to Portland, then, lacking a western terminus, it would have to join hands with and be at the mercy of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company. Monopoly was Villard's goal as it was that of Gould and Huntington.

Villard had already experimented in "bulling" or "bearing" the stock market by declaring unearned dividends, issuing rumors, or attacking the land grants and credit of rival roads, but now he undertook a greater scheme: secretly to gain control of the Northern Pacific which he found to be subservient to Puget Sound interests and stubbornly opposed to his plans for it. The "blind pool" was the device by which he secured the desired control and through it domination of the transportation network of the Northwest. However, the turn of events was to strip Villard of power and place his companies either in bankruptcy or in the hands of unfriendly interests.

Villard's account is both enlightening and disappointing. Characteristic traits of the robber baron are shown: pride, contempt of public interest, hatred of one's foes, dislike of competition, joy at disasters sustained by rivals, and arrogance in denunciation of grangers as "selfish schemers and demagogues." The man of whom it was said by a Wall Street contemporary, "as a stock-waterer he had, probably, no superior," throws little light on the financial manipulation by which he rose in a comparatively brief time from a man of no railroad connections to one controlling a great railroad system.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

DOMINION OF THE NORTH: A HISTORY OF CANADA. By *Donald Grant Creighton*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1944. Pp. vii, 535. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Creighton of the University of Toronto is the first to admit that his general history of Canada could not have been written a quarter century ago. In what he calls "the Mackenzie King era" the number and variety of monographs and biographies to appear as listed in his select bibliography reflect the increasing

maturity of Canadian scholarship and its greater breadth of interest. As might be expected from the author of "The Commercial Empire of the Saint Lawrence," Mr. Creighton has stressed the economic factors in the evolution of Canada and avoided as much as possible "drum and trumpet history." Far more will be learned in these pages about the role of such staples as codfish, furs, timber, and wheat in Canadian history than about the character and achievements of such figures as Laval, La Salle, Carleton, and Howe. When the author chooses to do so he can make an historical personage come to life as in his brilliant portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Sometimes the stress on group conflicts based upon differences in economic outlook as applied to Lower Canada exposes the author to the risk of underestimating individual achievements and judgments. Thus Lord Durham's blunt condemnation of French Canadian civilization, dismissed in two sentences, left a deep impress upon the feelings of a proud people which is not appraised. It is no accident that Durham's statue does not adorn the lawns of Parliament Hill in Ottawa while Baldwin and Lafontaine are placed side by side in a fine piece of statuary. I am a little surprised at the brevity of the reference to the appearance of an Assembly in Nova Scotia, the absence of any comment upon the Rush-Bagot agreement except to refer to its threatened disappearance in the American Civil War, the praise given to William Lyon Mackenzie as a political theorist, and the lack of comment upon the influence of Alexander Hamilton upon the Fathers of Confederation, which Professor W. B. Munro appraised fifteen years ago. But these are minor flaws in a suggestive interpretation well planned and executed in a style all too rare in historiography. It should hold its place for many years to come as the best single volume history of Canada.

University of British Columbia

F. H. SOWARD

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS: A STUDY OF CANADIAN POLITICS, RAILWAYS, AND FINANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Ronald Stewart Longley*, Alumni Professor of History, Acadia University. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 480. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Longley's volume is, as its title sets forth, much more than a mere record of the career of Sir Francis Hincks. Its 450 closely packed pages form a study of Canadian politics, railways, and finance during the two periods, 1830-55 and 1869-74, when Hincks was a part of the Canadian political scene. The intervening years are those during which he was governor, first of Barbados and the Windward Islands and later of British Guiana. This work has been awaited with interest in Canada since heretofore we have been dependent upon the volume of reminiscences which Hincks completed in 1884 and the composite study of Baldwin, Lafontaine, and Hincks by the late Stephen Leacock, which formed one of the volumes in the *Makers of Canada* series (Toronto, 1910). As Professor Longley points out, the reminiscences were written too late in life to become a

complete account of his career and do not provide a logical sequence in the description of events in which he had a prominent part.

Hincks has always been a baffling figure to the student of Canadian history, and at the end of his study Professor Longley admits that he is still a somewhat baffling figure. An ability to compromise marked his whole political life, and some of his turns were so sharp and sudden that they not only puzzled his contemporaries but are not entirely explainable today:

To his personal friends and supporters he was a man of ability and common sense who had the courage to translate into action what his intellect told him to do. His enemies, on the other hand, were convinced that he was a nineteenth century "Vicar of Bray" who compromised his integrity for political preferment and financial gain. It is impossible to substantiate fully either of these opinions.

Professor Longley concludes that Hincks made his best contribution before 1851 and that after that date he was "too often a combination of shrewd politician and efficient administrator." This earlier period, the era of the struggle for responsible government, has been thought of chiefly in terms of its two great protagonists, Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine, but Hincks's place is greatly enhanced by the part that he is shown to have played not only as "the first liaison officer between the Baldwin Reformers and the Lower Canadian French" but as a shrewd political organizer and framer of party policies all through the 1840's. He was not a rigid constitutionalist and not afraid of radicalism so that when, around 1850, Baldwin and Lafontaine believed that they could go no further Hincks, quite undaunted, was still ready to set his hand to the plow and break new furrows.

His connection with the affairs of the Grand Trunk Railway and with negotiations for reciprocity are the highlights of his years after 1851 as prime minister but, on the other hand, he was unable to solve the difficult problems of secularization of the clergy reserves and abolition of seignorial tenure in Quebec. Of his second appearance on the scene, after his terms as a colonial governor, it can only be said that it was unfortunate for his record. Though he gave noteworthy service as minister of finance in establishing the Dominion currency and providing for a sound banking system, as well as in shaping tariff policy, he was really out of touch with Canadian development, and when he retired from public life in 1874 his usefulness was clearly at an end.

Professor Longley has done a thoroughly workmanlike job. His bibliography shows that he has gone through extensive manuscript sources not only in Canada but in England. His chapters on Hincks as a colonial governor have special value as showing the difficulties of administration in a time when British colonial policies were changing. If there is a criticism to be made of the work it is that Hincks is still elusive. Perhaps that is inevitable. Two portraits give us some idea of his appearance and once he is described as "physically unimpressive." More of the personal, if it could have been found, might have made Francis Hincks the man a more living figure. He lived in a time of fascinating personalities in

Canadian public life—Baldwin, Lafontaine, Macdonald, Cartier. Was there not something in this Irish-born figure other than the coldly efficient public financier and political strategist? But apart from this minor point Professor Longley has produced a work that greatly expands our knowledge of Canadian political history and that will be read with profit by all interested in Canadian history in general.

University of Western Ontario

FRED LONDON

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1875-1911. By *Charles Callan Tansill*, Professor of American Diplomatic History, Fordham University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 507. \$3.50.)

THIS is the twenty-fourth volume that has appeared in the Canadian-American Relations Series prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Most of its predecessors are specialized studies of particular aspects of these relations. A few deal with particular periods, to present the historical evolution, and this is the sequel to the late Professor Shippee's scholarly *Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874*, which was published in 1939. The meticulous scholarship of this sequel is even more impressive. In addition to working over the voluminous printed sources, Professor Tansill has plowed through a tremendous amount of manuscript material in the collections of the Library of Congress, the National Archives in Washington, and the Public Archives in Ottawa. His pages are bristling with fresh quotations from the unpublished correspondence of the time; and it is interesting to observe that previous studies in this field have been pretty sound, because these quotations serve rather to amplify than to modify our knowledge of the subject.

The organization of the vast mass of material gathered for this volume posed a nice question. Should it be presented topically, or chronologically, or by a compromise between these two principles? There are obvious advantages in the solution adopted: the division of the book into four almost equal parts, each devoted to one big topic which is carried from the beginning to the end of the period with only slight references to the other topics. In order of treatment they are the North Atlantic fisheries, the Alaska boundary, the fur-seal fisheries, and reciprocity—three nasty disputes and a movement to effect a closer economic integration of the two neighbors. Thus what we really have is four parallel monographs paged consecutively and bound together.

This arrangement is not neat in that it entails tedious repetitions. For example, the Joint High Commission of 1898 is introduced in each of the four quarters of the book and there is a triple enumeration of its personnel. On the other hand the arrangement is too neat to give a proper understanding of each of the questions discussed, for they were intimately interwoven; too neat to be

comprehensive, for it has excluded other questions of the day that affected Canadian-American relations; and too neat to leave any intelligent impression of the evolution of the whole subject in accordance with the plan of the series. One of the omissions is astonishing in a work of this title. There is not even an allusion to one of the most remarkable developments in the relations between the United States and Canada, beginning with the appointment of the International Waterways Commission in 1905 and culminating in the Boundary Waterways Treaty of 1909, which laid down a new code of international law and established the International Joint Commission to administer this code and to investigate other questions involving international entanglements across the long common boundary.

Many readers will criticize this book for reflecting too narrow a conception of diplomatic history. Who said what to whom, cited verbatim, fills too much of the space, crowding out the larger view of what was taking place. Another criticism that will be leveled against it is that it is too exclusively American in outlook. It is written largely from the standpoint of an American at the time of the disputes that are here reviewed. There is little attempt to shift from Washington to Ottawa and to London to look at the various problems with Canadian and British eyes. If a Canadian university professor wrote a book in which he treated this subject from the corresponding Canadian standpoint it would be highly unpleasant reading in this country. The late Sir Arthur Doughty scouted the wisdom of producing this series when he heard it was projected. Grubbing up old quarrels, he said, would produce more bad feeling than good understanding; but this is the only volume in the series that would support his contention.

University of Minnesota

A. L. BURT

S. O. LEVINSON AND THE PACT OF PARIS: A STUDY IN THE TECHNIQUES OF INFLUENCE. By *John E. Stoner*, Department of Government, Indiana University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xvi, 368. \$4.00.)

THIS book is an attempt to combine a biography of S. O. Levinson, champion of the outlawry of war, and a monograph upon the genesis of the Pact of Paris. In the opinion of the reviewer it is a success as a biography but falls short as a monograph.

The author begins one of his chapters, "There were two kinds of peace advocates in America in the 1920's; there were those who wanted peace but were not particular what road they took to reach it; and there were those who wanted peace but would consent to approach it only by a road of their own choosing" (p. 138). S. O. Levinson was a perfect example of the latter type. Conceiving the idea that all previous efforts to rid the world of war had failed because all of them had recognized war as an "institution," he proposed to solve the problem by

"outlawing" war. Believing that outlawry must become the starting point of all effective effort for permanent peace, he devoted nearly all of his time for ten years and large sums of his own money to enlist the support of all possible influences, personal or institutional, which might contribute to the success of his endeavor. His activity was prodigious. He enlisted the support of many persons who wielded either power or influence, most notably Senator Borah, at the time chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In the signing of the Pact of Paris Levinson believed that he saw the triumph of his idea. The story of his tremendous effort culminating in the promulgation of that famous document is told in a fashion to hold the attention of the reader and probably in most instances to evoke strong admiration for the man who put forth such a valiant effort in behalf of humanity. In doing this the author, perhaps without intention, has depicted his central figure as a hero, but without concealing his shortcomings—his inconsistencies, his frequent unfairness to others who were laboring for peace by other methods, his occasional use of unfair tactics, and his co-operation with men who were pursuing merely selfish party or personal ends.

As an account of how the Pact of Paris came into existence the chief defect is the omission or the failure to deal satisfactorily with several important aspects of the subject. Why did Kellogg delay six months before replying to the Briand proposal of June 20, 1927? That important question is begged by saying that it is "beyond the province of this investigation" (p. 265). What were the respective parts of Mr. Levinson and of Professor Shotwell in bringing about the Briand proposal? The handling of that much discussed matter fails to provide a satisfactory answer because it is treated only in an incidental manner and the evidence relied upon in support of the author's conclusion "that Levinson's was the influence to which the proposal was due" (p. 231) is of dubious value. On the most decisive point it consists mainly of oral testimony considerably after the event on the part of men whose recollection was likely to have been affected by the lapse of time and their personal interest. The attempt to reconstruct a missing memorandum which Levinson is said to have handed to an official at the Quai d'Orsay is of doubtful validity (pp. 221-231).

The book is based principally upon the papers of S. O. Levinson, now in the library of the University of Chicago. That voluminous collection has been thoroughly explored. The author also had the benefit of personal consultation with Mr. Levinson during the late years of his life. Portions of the book appear to have been submitted to him. The documentation is elaborate and in the main conforms to the most exacting standards. Occasionally, however, the author fails to indicate the evidence upon which he relies for important statements.

It is doubtless desirable that books dealing with important features of recent history should appear as promptly as possible after the event. Is there not danger, however, that an endeavor to meet this demand may result in premature publica-

tion? In this instance might the author's account not have been somewhat different if he had waited until he could consult the Borah, Coolidge, and Kellogg papers already on deposit in places where they will soon be made accessible to qualified investigators?

Dartmouth College

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

HENRY S. PRITCHETT: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Abraham Flexner*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 211. \$2.75.)

SPONSORED by the Carnegie Corporation Dr. Abraham Flexner has rendered an important service in presenting this readable and informative biography of one of the eminent men of our time.

Henry Smith Pritchett was born in 1857 on a somewhat remote farm in the Missouri River valley and as a child was surrounded by the smoldering animosities of the Civil War in a border state. He died in the summer of 1939 at Santa Barbara, California, after a distinguished and unusual career.

To the present generation he was known almost exclusively as the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose early history was something less than happy. Prior to assuming that task, however, he had been assistant astronomer in the Naval Observatory under Asaph Hall, professor of mathematics and astronomy in Washington University, St. Louis, head of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In each of these positions he had acquitted himself with high distinction.

In 1890 Andrew Carnegie was made a trustee of Cornell University and for the first time became aware of the distressingly low salaries paid to college teachers with the result that few of them were able to lay by any means adequate to provide for them in their old age, and with the secondary consequence that, having humane instincts but no pension systems, almost all colleges carried on their rolls many men who had long ceased to be effective teachers.

Mr. Carnegie thought to remedy this situation, as far as concerned the retirement problem, by establishing a pension system for which he made a capital gift of ten million dollars. From the plan he excluded denominational and state supported institutions on the ground that they had constituencies to which they could look for aid.

The actuarial basis of the project was tragically defective, for there were no adequate data on which to proceed and the funds available to operate it proved utterly insufficient. Odd as it may seem, it was not easy to determine just what constituted a college, nor whether it were or were not denominational. Pressure to admit state institutions became intense, the retiring allowances were steadily reduced from \$4,000 annually to \$1,500 or less. All kinds of bad faith were charged against the trustees of the fund and altogether it was a forlorn experience.

Meantime out of the generous motives which had inspired the whole scheme came the valuable Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, a new sense of institutional obligation to establish sound systems for teachers' retiring allowances, with not a few voluntary co-operative plans in which trustees and faculty shared, to say nothing of a better general understanding by the public of the nature of the whole problem.

From the first Dr. Pritchett was concerned for many educational interests other than pensions, and he began a series of brilliant reports and survey studies, some prepared by himself, others by experts he called in, which exercised a deep and wholesome influence on American education. Indeed, some of them, like the Flexner report on medical schools, were epoch-making.

The biographer has not only succeeded in giving an excellent picture of the sheer accomplishments of Dr. Pritchett, but he has also brought out much of the personal charm of the man and has made clear his prodigious industry and the fine integrity of his mind and character, qualities which endeared him even to those who disagreed with him.

New York City

JAMES R. ANGELL

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

NOBEL—PRIZE DONOR: INVENTOR OF DYNAMITE, ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

By *Michael Evlanoff*. (Philadelphia, Blakiston, distributed by Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1943, pp. 190, \$2.50.) This book seeks to do at least two things. First, as one would expect, it aims to tell the essential facts of Alfred Nobel's life and to describe the Nobel Prizes. Second, it deals almost as fully with the Nobel family, particularly with Alfred's nephew, Emmanuel Nobel. The author knew Emmanuel well and valued his friendship very highly; at times in fact it seems as if the real purpose of this book is to pay a tribute to the memory of the nephew. As for Alfred himself the facts of his life and his scientific contributions, drawn from the familiar literature about him, are adequately assembled with few efforts to suggest any fresh interpretations. More care could have been applied to the preparation of the volume. The proofreading has sometimes been haphazard, especially in the matter of proper names. The arrangement of the material is confusing and there is no index. What tries the reader's patience is the discursive character of the volume. Repeatedly the author leaves his main narrative to wander into bypaths, very often, it would seem, for no other reason than that he has an opportunity to elaborate on something he has seen or read that has interested him. At times these digressions are unwarranted, the tone sophomoric. The author describes at some length two widely different milieus with which Alfred Nobel or his family came in contact at one time or other. One is the salon of Madame Adam in Paris, the other, certain scenes characteristic of late nineteenth century life in the mountains of the Caucasus (fully a dozen pages are devoted to the stay of the Von Suttners near the Princess Dadiani). Quite possibly the author has known one or both of these milieus at first hand; in any event his portrayal of them has a certain freshness and gives to the volume most of what merit it possesses.

OSCAR J. FALNES

EDWARD TYSON, M.D., F.R.S., 1650-1708, AND THE RISE OF HUMAN AND

COMPARATIVE ANATOMY IN ENGLAND: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF

SCIENCE. By *M. F. Ashley Montagu*, Associate Professor of Anatomy, Hahnemann

Medical College and Hospital, Philadelphia. With a Foreword by George Sarton.

[Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XX.] (Philadelphia,

American Philosophical Society, 1943, pp. xxix, 488, \$5.00.) At long last scholars have

begun to survey the seventeenth century in its appropriate perspective, particularly

with regard to its backgrounds in science. Harvey in 1628 had introduced the experi-

mental method in the biological and medical sciences, and a few years earlier the

physical sciences had received a similar stimulus from Galileo and his followers. The

rich fruition of the new approach to the sciences came in the second half of the

seventeenth century, and it affected thought in all spheres of human endeavor. Ed-

ward Tyson was born precisely at the middle of the century, and he has been ap-

propriately characterized as a pioneer of those detailed studies of animal forms which,

two centuries later, led to that view of the organic world summarized by the word

"evolution." He may justly be designated as the father of comparative anatomy—of

the thoughtful approach to animal biology which placed each form side by side with

those of close structural resemblance. The concept was new and the approach challenging. He insisted that the various types of living creatures could only be described and classified if their internal structure were made known and compared with others having similar morphological organization. The term "species" came to be used in Tyson's time to designate animals having definite external form and characteristic internal structure; but the animal kingdom as such had not yet been classified, except in the rough categories used a hundred years earlier by the Englishman Henry Wotton and by naturalists such as Conrad Gesner. In a very real sense, Tyson paved the way for Linnaeus, and it is perhaps significant that Tyson died a year after Linnaeus was born. Professor Ashley Montagu is thoroughly familiar with primate literature, and he is also a physical anthropologist. With his flare for historical investigation he thus possesses unusual equipment for the handling of his subject. As a biographer he belongs to the school that insists upon placing the man in full relation with his "times"; and one accordingly finds almost more about Tyson's contemporaries than about Tyson himself. But the story is well, if somewhat diffusely told; it is extensively, although not always accurately documented, and it has considerable virtue as first-rate bibliography and—for a biography—an unusually complete index. The book is well printed and the Philosophical Society deserves credit for having sponsored a book of this unusual character in these times.

JOHN F. FULTON

WITCHCRAFT. By *Charles Williams*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 316, \$4.50.) "A history of witchcraft in Christendom, beginning with the first century A.D. and ending with the trials and persecutions of witches, up to the eighteenth century." This is a reprint of a work published in 1941 by Faber and Faber of London.

THE AGE OF CATHERINE DE MEDICI. By *John Ernest Neale*. (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts, 1944, pp. 111, \$2.00.) "Lectures on the religious and political background of the second half of the sixteenth century, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the close of the religious wars."

INTER-AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL INTERCHANGE. *Proceedings of the Inter-American Conference on Intellectual Interchange, June 16 and 17, 1943, sponsored by the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas.* (Austin, Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, 1943, pp. ix, 188, and illustrations.) The University of Texas is well situated to sponsor an Inter-American Conference of the type noted above. Its faculty provides a permanent nucleus for an institute devoted to general Latin-American studies. On occasions of this sort, the third of its kind, it invites other educational institutions and cultural groups on both sides of the border to participate in its discussions and to meet its distinguished guests from abroad. Thus its sessions, aided by a subsidy from the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, permit personal interchange of views which its publications render more generally available. The papers of the present volume reveal a twofold character. Such veteran North Americans as Inman, Leavitt, and Whitaker, ably furthered by such liaison associates as the Chilean-Californian, Arturo Torres-Róseco, and the Mexican-Texan, Carlos Castañeda, discuss the background of inter-American cultural effort and its present needs and problems, material and spiritual. The substantial offerings of this group are accompanied by the discussion of Donald Coney, librarian of the University of Texas, on books as materials for intellectual exchange, and the bilingual colloquy of Professor Arnáiz y Freg of the National Uni-

versity of Mexico, who is a Guggenheim fellow of the past year, on the teaching of history in Mexico. Useful contributions to cultural understanding are the papers of Professor Risieri Frondizi of the University of Tucumán, Argentina, on "Tendencies in Contemporary Latin American Philosophy"; of Jefferson Rea Spell of the University of Texas on "Mexican Society of the Twentieth Century as Portrayed by Mariano Azuela"; and of Professor Ezequiel Ordoñez of the National University of Mexico on "The New Volcano of Parícutin," a paper based on personal observations and accompanied by photographs. Other photographs also illustrate the important section on "Fine Arts in the Americas," to which Hugo Leipziger of the University of Texas, Robert C. Smith of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, and Manuel Toussaint of the National University of Mexico contribute, respectively, studies on "Architecture in the Americas," "Evolution in Latin American Art," and "A Defense of Baroque Art in the Americas." Professor Frondizi closes this varied but useful series with an illuminating sketch of "Old and New Argentine Universities."

ISAAC J. COX

JEWISH PIONEERS AND PATRIOTS. By *Lee M. Friedman*. With a Preface by A. S. W. Rosenbach. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xvii, 430, \$2.50.) For many years Lee Friedman, a prominent Boston lawyer, has been building a library of manuscripts, pamphlets, and books pertaining to the history of the Jews. Today he owns the finest collection of Judaica in this country. From its rich resources, supplemented here and there by other material, he has compiled this interesting, and at times exciting, record of American Jewish pioneers. His objective has been a surprisingly modest one. He has not tried, despite the statement of his publisher, "to show what America has done for the Jew and what the Jew has done for America." His book is episodic and anecdotal, rather than comprehensive and systematic. Parts of it are disappointing. For example, one chapter asks: "Was Christopher Columbus a Jew?" but the answer here given does not advance the arguments on either side of that perennial, and probably unimportant, controversy. Furthermore, the discussion of "The Presidents and Some Jewish Problems" adds little to our understanding of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, or of the policies which they advocated while in office. In fact, the treatment of the difficulties arising from the variant interpretations of the Russo-American treaty of 1832 is far from adequate. Nevertheless there is much in Mr. Friedman's volume which commands attention. Especially valuable are the significant social data set forth in his delineation of little known Jewish pioneers: Asser Levy Van Swellem, resourceful adventurer who became a substantial property holder in New Netherlands and later a protagonist of Jewish rights in the province of New York; Asher Pollock, who left Newport's waterfront to endure the rigors of Valley Forge and serve to the close of the Revolutionary War; Benjamin Gomez, New York's first Jewish bookseller; Abraham Touro, ship-builder and merchant of Medford whose philanthropy could not be confined within the borders of Massachusetts; Edward S. Salomon, veteran of the Civil War who was named by President Grant to be governor of Washington Territory; and Sam Dreben of El Paso, quixotic soldier of fortune whose life made men ashamed to speak of racial prejudice in his presence.

JOHN A. KROUT

AUSTRIAN AID TO AMERICAN CATHOLICS, 1830-1860. By *Benjamin J. Blied*, Professor of European History and Languages, St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin. (Milwaukee, Benjamin Blied, 3600 S. Kinnickinnic, 1944, pp. 305, \$2.50.) This doctoral dissertation presents a mass of details—some of them tiresome and un-

important—that set forth the missionary activity of the Leopoldine Society and of other organizations with similar objectives. The Leopoldine Society, which had its headquarters in Vienna, embarked on its ambitious crusade with the blessing of the pope in 1829. After 1860 the activity of the society declined and with the outbreak of the first World War it ceased to exist. In the United States its missionaries had to contend with hostile propaganda broadcast by such Protestant leaders as Lyman Beecher and by professional nativists who joined Know-Nothing lodges and by refugees from abroad who found America a Utopia in contrast with an Austria under the domination of Metternich and his reactionary allies. The visits of Kossuth and Bedini and other events known to students of Know-Nothingism fanned the fury of citizens who prized the liberties of the most tolerant country in the world. The Leopoldine missionaries made no serious effort to minister to the Negro population; and scant success crowned their efforts to convert the American Indian. After 1840 their leaders gradually abandoned hopes of converting any considerable number of Protestants and devoted themselves to work among members of their own household of faith. The influx of hordes of immigrants challenged the church to assist them in orienting themselves to the strange environment and to keep them loyal to the faith of their fathers. Although the author had to have the permission of his ecclesiastical superiors to publish his findings, he is chary of exaggerating the accomplishments of the Catholic missionaries and is conscious of the limitations of human instruments whether in the service of church or state. The brevity of the treatment of certain topics may mislead readers who lack the necessary background; but the author has accomplished his purpose of emphasizing the difficulties of the American mission field, including dissension between racial groups of the same faith. GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

THE FOOD FRONT IN WORLD WAR I. By *Maxcy Dickson*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, pp. 194, \$3.25.)

EISENHOWER, MAN AND SOLDIER. By *Francis Trevelyan Miller*. (Philadelphia, John C. Winston, 1944, pp. 284, \$2.00.)

A GUIDE TO NAVAL STRATEGY. By *Bernard Brodie*. Fourth edition. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xii, 314, \$2.75.) Completely revised and rewritten. (For review of first edition see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 631.)

WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: EFFECTS ON ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES. By *Eugene Staley*. Appendix to Chapter IV by *Robert W. Tufts*. [Studies and Reports, Series B (Economic Conditions), No. 36.] (Montreal, International Labour Office, 1944, pp. v, 218, 12, \$1.25, 5 shillings.)

ARTICLES

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WALTER J. FISCHEL. The Jews of Kurdistan a Hundred Years Ago: A Traveler's Record. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, July.

WILLARD HALLAM BONNER. The Reputation of Captain Kidd. *New Eng. Quar.*, June.

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AGATHA RAMM. Great Britain and the Planting of Italian Power in the Red Sea, 1868-1885. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, May.

C. A. BROWNE. Alexander von Humboldt as Historian of Science in Latin America. *Isis*, Spring.

HENRY GUERLAC. George Lincoln Burr. *Ibid.*

- CARL B. BOYER. Fundamental Steps in the Development of Numeration. *Ibid.*
 LINDEN A. MANDER. The New Hebrides Condominium. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, June.
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 C. K. WEBSTER. Peace-Making: Vienna, Paris, and To-day. *Agenda*, Mar.
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 JOSEPH KATZ. A Reply to J. Huizinga on the Form and Function of History. *Jour. Hist. of Ideas*, June.

Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

SMALL OBJECTS FROM THE PNYX: I. By Gladys R. Davidson and Dorothy Burr Thompson. [Hesperia, Supplement VII.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies, 1943, pp. 172, \$5.00.) Since the earth "fill" on the Pnyx was brought in from elsewhere, this volume contains, not relics of the Athenian assembly, but the whole jumble of objects which the earth of Athens contained. Two of the inscriptions (nos. 1 and 17) are teasers. Among six dikasts' name-plates, two appear to have lacked demotics, but the right ends are missing. Of 616 Greek coins, over 100 are issues of Athens proper, the rest are various, but 134 are from a certain issue of the Athenian cleruchy on Delos (166/7-88 B.C.), and another 134 (found in a hoard) are oddly the same. None from an ostracism is recognized among the graffiti, but I am not sure that all (*e.g.*, no. 5 ?) should be excluded. No. 25 has numerals "45": on no. 17 can we not read an acrophonic "50" ?—the numbers being serial numbers, or the value of (precious) contents? No. 26: note lunate sigmas, rare before 325 B.C. Bits of sculpture, unfinished, from a workshop; and a lovely fragment, no. 1. Hundreds of lamps found, 135 selected for publication; useful profiles are given on page 48. Loomweights *were* loomweights: Miss Davidson sweeps away all the other notions, and gives an account of the Greek loom and all that relates to it (pp. 65-94), which is the best thing on the subject. Seal impressions also receive notable treatment (pp. 104-108), as does the Greek notion and word "pyramid" (a small cake, from which they named the Egyptian monuments, p. 109). Mrs. Thompson's contribution is the long chapter on figurines: needless to say, it is like the preceding chapters in being both authoritative and lively. The excavator, Professor (now Lt.) Thompson, himself wrote the descriptions. As it was bound to be, the whole is a handy job. Small finds, now that we have Olynthus (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 824-25), Delos, and the Pnyx—all keenly studied—are coming into their own. STERLING DOW

THE FIVE ATTIC TRIBES AFTER KLEISTHENES. By W. Kendrick Pritchett. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, 1943, pp. 41.) In 1898, F. O. Bates produced a doctoral dissertation on *The Five Post-Kleisthenian Tribes*. The increment of new data since then has been considerable, and none of it is missing from these careful pages; the lists of demes are accompanied by full citations of the sources, by assign-

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

ments to trittytes, and (an innovation) by normal figures for representation in the boule, so as to indicate population. More than Bates, Dr. (now Capt.) Pritchett has gone on to discoveries of his own; text and notes are loaded with new and sound readings and interpretations. A hitherto unpublished prytany inscription from the Agora is used to show that Ptolemais was created in (or for) 224/3 B.C. This is the historical item of greatest immediate interest. Attalis and Hadrianis are well settled. As to Antigonis and Demetrias, the account is very close to being final; on them there will be a little to add, in a forthcoming study of representation in the boule, but for this too Pritchett provided the hint, when he pointed out (*per litt.*, 1942) the possible connection between an inscription now in Copenhagen and an unpublished Agora list. It is safe to say that Pritchett's work will be a standard place of reference henceforward, and that no third doctoral dissertation will ever be written on the honorific Athenian tribes.

STERLING DOW

ROMAN TOWNS. By *Ernest Nash*. (New York, J. J. Augustin, 1944, pp. 201, \$6.00.) "Photographs, by the author, with some plans of the excavated towns of Rome, Ostia, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Paestum, Pozzuoli, Tivoli, and Fiesole."

RUINED CITIES OF IRAQ. By *Seton Lloyd*. [Issued for the Iraq Government, Directorate-General of Antiquities.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1942, 1944, pp. 78, \$1.25.) A little guide book to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley in which a scholar has skilfully compressed the story of what archaeologists have discovered.

GENERAL ARTICLES

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A. MOMIGLIANO. Sea-Power in Greek Thought. *Class. Rev.*, May.

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H. LAST. "Cinnae Quater Consulis." *Class. Rev.*, May.

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- NELSON GLUECK. The Jordan. *Bibl. Archaeol.*, Dec.
- HERBERT GORDON MAY. Synagogues in Palestine. *Ibid.*, Feb.
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- FELIX OSWALD. The Mortaria of Margidunum and Their Development from A.D. 50 to 400. *Antiquaries Jour.*, Jan.
- I. A. RICHMOND. Three Fragments of Roman Official Statues from York, Lincoln, and Silchester. *Ibid.*
- J. PHILIP HYATT. The Writing of an Old Testament Book. *Bibl. Archaeol.*, Dec.

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- J. G. MILNE. The Perachora Drachma Inscription. *Class. Rev.*, May.
- W. T. WADE-GERY. The Spartan Rhetra in Plutarch *Lycurgus* VI. B. The Εὐνομία of Tyrtaeus. *Class. Quar.*, Jan.
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- VERNE B. SCHUMAN. The Greek Signatures of P. Mich. Inv. 4703. *Ibid.*
- J. BARAMKI. Coin Hoards from Palestine. *Quar. Dept. Antiquities Palestine*, XI, nos. 1/2.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

TEXTS AND STUDIES. Volume II, SAADIA ANNIVERSARY VOLUME. (New York, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1943, pp. 346.) The world of Jewish, Islamic, and even Christian scholasticism is to us generally and to an amazing degree more alien than the thought and emotion of Jewish or Greek antiquity, though the epoch in question is more than a thousand years nearer to us. The volume which the American Academy for Jewish Research published last year in commemoration of the thousandth anniversary of Saadia's death avoids in an exemplary way the two pitfalls besetting the historian who writes of that period, the danger of modernizing medieval thinking and that of being dull. Professor Salo W. Baron contributes a delightful biography of the intellectual aristocrat Saadia—a vivid picture of his many spiritual and communal ambitions, his role in the exciting controversy concerning the Jewish calendar of that time, and other less well-known details of his life. Professor Boaz Cohen provides forty-seven fragments of Saadia's Arabic commentary on the Bible which have been hitherto unpublished and show how a certain kind of rational exegesis has remained comparatively stereotyped throughout the centuries. Professor Solomon Gandz offers discussions of quite a number of mathematical questions in Saadia's works, such as his interesting account of why at the time of resurrection the earth will have space enough for all the pious of the generations past. Professor Harry A. Wolfson presents an especially acute, penetrating, and learned analysis of certain principal arguments for the creation of the world and the impossibility of an infinite series of causes, topics which occupied Saadia's mind—and the speculative thought of mankind for thousands of years. The late Professor Ismar Elbogen contributes a very valuable essay on Saadia's most influential Jewish prayer-book, an essay successfully supplemented by Dr. Michael Higger's comparisons be-

tween Palestinian liturgical rules and Saadia's adoption of essentially Babylonian customs. Professor Abraham S. Halkin's article on "the Samaritans and Saadia" and Professor Aaron Freimann's bibliography of Saadia appropriately round out this especially attractive publication.

DAVID BAUMGARDT

SENTENTIAE PETRI PICTAVIENSIS, I. By *Philip S. Moore* and *Marthe Dulong*. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1943, pp. lxii, 326.) It is very encouraging to find volumes of this sort being published at this time; the distinguished authors who have done their work so well and the University of Notre Dame, which sponsors it, are all to be thanked. No one has greater right than Father Moore to speak of Peter of Poitiers. By earlier studies he has already laid the foundations for the work at hand and for the volumes to follow, and those acquainted with the fine scholarship of Mlle Dulong understand how fortunate Father Moore is to have her collaboration in the preparation of a worthy edition of this major work of an important twelfth century scholar. Peter belongs to that group of schoolmen who have been long admired but not always perfectly understood and who, when carefully studied, are discovered to have had far more originality and intellectual acumen than they had been accredited with. Peter's paramount interest in his *Sententiae* was to deal with disputable questions in dialectical and systematic fashion. "His *Sic et Non* procedure is the opposing of reasons expressed in syllogisms rather than the setting off of authorities one against the other." It seems also that much of his work reflects those questions and queries that were challenging the alert, active teacher in the Paris schools of his day (b. 1130, d. 1205) and is thus far more than a compendium of ancient and worthy authorities. The editors tell us that Peter uses his authorities sparingly and that these *Sententiae* are not a mere stringing together of biblical and patristic texts. "The bulk of the work is taken up with the rational discussion of theological questions and difficulties which greatly multiplied under the influence of the new dialectical movement." Peter was also a grammarian of considerable distinction and ability, and speculative grammar plays an important part in his analytical methods. He seems also most "modern" in his use of visual aids to learning, anticipating by many centuries what military, naval, and contemporary progressive educational authorities seem recently to have discovered.

GRAY C. BOYCE

HIERONIMO GIUSTINIANI'S HISTORY OF CHIOS. Edited with an Introduction by *Philip P. Argenti*. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1943, pp. xxxv, 462, £2-2-0.) This is the author's eighth publication about the history of his ancestral island. It consists of the original Italian manuscript of Giustiniani's work, which he discovered in the state archives in Rome, and which had hitherto been published in a French version. The discovery was prompted by a note, made in 1865 by the historian Finlay in his copy of the French edition, preserved in the Finlay Library of the British Archaeological School at Athens, recording a statement by Hopf, the German historian of medieval Greece, that he had used such a manuscript. This Italian original contains "a good deal of material omitted in the printed [French] work," and was "written in 1586" when, twenty years after the Turkish capture of Chios, Giustiniani lived in exile as a French official in Paris, though never forgetting that he belonged to the Genoese family which gave its name to the *Maona dei Giustiniani*, the famous Chartered Company, which administered Chios as described in the editor's recent book, *Chios Vincita*. Yet, as the editor mentions, he "makes the inaccurate statement that the *Maonesi* had held Chios as 'veri patroni,' " whereas "in all the treaties it is ex-

explicitly stipulated that with the Republic shall be the sovereignty, whereas the *Maonesi* shall have the possession." But, as Giustiniani admits, he has not followed the "contemporary standards of an historian"; he likes "lengthy digressions," devotes "three of the thirteen books of his *History* to a pure description of the island." But the editor considers that, "although it adds little to what we may learn from other sources of the political history of Chios in both ancient and medieval times, it corroborates other sources" and "gives us an insight into the manners and customs of the islanders and the general atmosphere of Chian life." But his bias in religious matters—there were four faiths in Chios—is a serious limitation of his qualities as an observer of that aspect of insular life, and his love of historical parallels leads him astray into ancient philosophers. The editor has shown in his "Addenda et Corrigenda," that Giustiniani was not always accurate in his quotations from the classics.

WILLIAM MILLER

MARSILIO FICINO'S COMMENTARY ON PLATO'S *SYMPOSIUM*. The Text and a Translation, with an Introduction by *Scars Reynolds Jayne*, [University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 1.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1944, pp. 247, \$2.00.)

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LEGAL AND ECONOMIC

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 FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR. The Vain Imaginings of Frate Estefano. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Aug., 1943.
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 W. R. VALENTINER. Two Terracotta Reliefs by Leonardo. *Art Quar.*, Winter.

Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY: A STUDY IN MONASTIC ADMINISTRATION. By *R. A. L. Smith*, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xi, 237, \$3.75.) This monastic house was one of the richest in England. Its religious and political history is well known, and it is a little surprising that its economic history and administrative life have waited until now for adequate study. The monastic traditions of this Benedictine convent extend far back into Anglo-Saxon times, and its wealth was chiefly the gift of Anglo-Saxon benefactors. Dr. Smith's study really begins with the organizing and consolidating activities of the twelfth century archbishops and priors, however, and the illustrative details which crowd his pages are drawn chiefly from the three centuries that follow. The records of the priory are unusually complete and varied and Dr. Smith has made full use of them. The priory held manors in eight of the southeastern counties of England and, until the close of the fourteenth century, exercised a direct and close supervision of the tilling of its demesne lands. Wheat and other cereals were the "cash crops," and the monks were at great pains to bring fresh acres under cultivation as well as to increase the fertility of land already under the plow through the use of limestone and fertilizers. The yield per acre of wheat, on the demesne lands of the priory, was double the medieval average. Capitalist farming, it is evident, goes back to the fourteenth century. The cultivation of cereals was balanced by the raising of sheep, of which the priory had many thousands. Disastrous storms, years of drought, severe pestilences, and the war taxation of Edward III brought on an economic recession. Then, about 1390, Prior Thomas Chillenden leased the demesne lands so advantageously that the revenues of the priory reached their greatest height. The prior, something of an autocrat, spent thousands of pounds upon the reconstruction of the famous nave of Canterbury Cathedral. The priors "lived like barons," with a household of some twenty persons. They had recourse to a council of officials, lawyers, and local landlords. A half-dozen senior monks, with the prior, exercised a controlling influence over the life of the monastic community, appointing the twenty-five obedientiaries and auditing accounts. In the best period of its administrative history all the revenues of the priory were paid into a central treasury or "exchequer," which aped the ways of its royal counterpart. The monks lived well, eating wheat bread, some meat, much fish, and drinking the best wines of France as well as locally produced beer. Monastic servants outnumbered the monks two to one. The later years of this house were marked by slackness and a growing secularization, Dr. Smith says. The distribution of alms dwindled more and more. W. O. AULT

A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Sir George Duff-Sutherland Dunbar, bt.* Two volumes. [3d edition.] (Forest Hills, Transatlantic Arts. 1944, pp. 701, \$7.50.) "A postscript covering the period from 1939 to the end of 1942 has been added, the passages on the Bactrian Greeks have been rewritten, and statistics of population have been revised in accordance with

the 1941 census." The first edition was published in 1936, the second in 1939, by I. Nicholson and Watson of London.

INDIA IN OUTLINE. By *Mabel Helene Kisch, Lady Hartog*. (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 121, \$2.00.) "An introduction to India today and a brief history."

EAST OF MALTA, WEST OF SUEZ: THE OFFICIAL ADMIRALTY ACCOUNT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET, 1939-1943. By *Bartimeus*, pseud. [*Lewis Anselm Ritchie*]. Foreword by Admiral Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1944, pp. 231, \$2.50.) "A comprehensive account of British naval action in the Mediterranean from the outbreak of war to the conquest of Tunisia."

ANNUAL BULLETIN OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. No. XXX, PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEARS 1940 AND 1941. (London, published for the Historical Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 77.)

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- HARRIET SUSAN SAMPSON. My Father: Joseph Despard Pemberton: 1821-93. *Ibid.*
- MARJORIE C. HOLMES. Royal Commissions and Commissioners of Inquiry in British Columbia. A Checklist. Part I: 1872-1900. *Ibid.*
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FRANCE

ÉCONOMIE ET FINANCES DE LA FRANCE, PASSÉ ET AVENIR. By *Robert Wolff*. [Bibliothèque Brentano's, Études historiques, économiques, et sociales.] (New York, Brentano's, 1943, pp. 320.) The author attributes France's collapse to the following factors: a stationary population which retarded business expansion and hindered colonial development; an influx of foreigners lacking an understanding of Gallic life and thought into the body politic; the entry of women into gainful pursuits which upset the social order; a sharp decline in the proportion of agricultural producers; poor rural education; the theoretical nature of technical training; the concentration of business in a few hands; the triumph of shyster politicians; the rapid growth of functionaries; political instability; loss of popular confidence in the government; shifting financial policies which paralyzed business; crushing taxes; and the inept and poorly-timed social legislation of 1936 which materially lowered production potentialities. He holds that France can again become a great power if a long peace is assured; if she becomes empire-minded; if her government is reorganized along British lines; if population growth can be stimulated; if more and better technical and agricultural education is provided; if private initiative is again given a free hand; and if industry comes to rest upon a forty-eight hour rather than a forty-hour week. This blueprint is, of course, rooted wholly in the past and mirrors the book's basic defect—the author's failure to comprehend the fact that a new age has dawned and that, with new economic, political, and social concepts emerging, any attempt to discuss reconstruction in terms of dead yesteryears is utterly futile.

LOWELL RAGATZ

LA RÉVOLUTION D'HIER, D'AUJOURD'HUI, ET DE DEMAIN. By *Louis Marlio*. [Bibliothèque Brentano's, Études historiques, économiques, et sociales.] (New York, Brentano's, 1943, pp. 222.) French authors living in exile in America are fortunate in having the Bibliothèque Brentano's (more familiarly, the parent Brentano concern at 586 Fifth Avenue) as a channel for publication. This firm is currently sponsoring two series of works, one literary in nature and the other given over to history, economics, and social studies. All are brought out in familiar French format—paper covers, uncut pages, and, alas, no index—and the titles already published constitute a monument to the invincible spirit of Gallic letters in the face of adversity. This volume, by a member of the Institute, is the first in the second series and sets a high standard of craftsmanship. Essentially philosophical, it holds that the spirit of revolution is undying. If, for the moment, it appears to have succumbed to the dark forces of reaction, this is merely because too many Westerners softened under the material prosperity attending industrialization and lost the vision of youth. Egoism is held to be the basic cause of social and international disequilibrium. The confusion of our age is rooted in incompatibilities in the common man's demands—wealth and equality, progress and stability, expansion and peace. Better days will return when emphasis is placed upon duties rather than upon rights, when rampant individualism is curbed, and when restraints are placed upon national sovereignty. Military, economic, and moral disarmament will, in due course, usher in international democracy and revolution will then have reached full flower. Assumption of leadership in the movement would result in France's regeneration and cannot, therefore, be too strongly urged.

LOWELL RAGATZ

ESQUISSES PARISIENNES EN DES TEMPS HEUREUX, 1830-1848. By *Louis Allard*. (Montreal, Les Editions Variétés, 1943, pp. 342.) The author, in a foreword,

warns us that this is neither a study of the political history of the July Monarchy, nor of its great literary achievements. He presents rather a series of sketches that fill in the background of the period. Paris, still filled with medieval and Renaissance byways and unimproved by Baron Haussmann, is brought to life. Then we see Louis Philippe and the royal family and the difficulties of the dynasty with rising opposition groups; next short studies of the electorate of two hundred thousand, the support of the monarchy, and of the press, recreate the atmosphere of the politics of the time. Further chapters deal with the stiff-necked opposition of the old aristocracy entrenched in the Faubourg Saint Germain, with the world of the great capitalists, of the lower middle class, and finally with various aspects of the theater as it represented the life and society of the time. The author confines his attention almost entirely to Paris, with only here and there a reference to the departments. It is truly a delightful book, the work of a scholar who knows his material through and through, and entertains the reader while informing him. It is exactly the sort of book to give the student the "feel" of a period he already knows in a more formal and more colorless way from the political and literary histories of France he has read.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

BRIAND: DISCOURS PRONONCÉ À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE NEW YORK POUR LA COMMÉMORATION DU 80^{me} ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA NAISSANCE D'ARISTIDE BRIAND. By *Alexis Leger*. (Aurora, Wells College Press, 1943, pp. 22, \$1.50.) Alexis Leger, descendant of an old French family and born on the island of St. Leger near Guadeloupe, is now consultant for French literature at the Library of Congress. At the beginning of the first World War he entered the French Foreign Service, held various diplomatic posts abroad, and served in special missions to Washington, London, and The Hague. His diplomatic ability was held in high esteem in the circles around the Quai d'Orsay; the fact that at the same time he was also the author of some volumes of poetry was and still is known only to a small group of his friends and admirers. For a long time he was one of Briand's closest intimates and collaborators. He was with him during those decisive years when Briand shaped the foreign policy of France and constructed a political system which, notwithstanding all its shortcomings, saved the peace of Europe as long as Briand lived. With awe and admiration Leger draws the lines of the picture of one of the most impressive political figures France has produced—a great Frenchman and (what counts more) a great European. On a few pages Leger gives a rough sketch of the principles of Briand's policy, of the pillars on which he built his system of collective security. "Those in France," says Leger, "who most violently fought collaboration on the basis of peace, in agreement with the European family, for a victorious strong France, with a republican disarmed Germany,—those are the same who some day would accept a collaboration on the basis of war, in favor of a Germanic order, through a totalitarian, imperialistic Germany, for a humiliated, oppressed, isolated France." The man who at Locarno sat at the table with Stresemann would not have gone to Munich to sign blank checks for Hitler. These few pages, short as they are, reveal Leger's great mastery of language, his purity of style, his feeling for artistic balance. Just because Leger disregards all details and confines himself to easily discernible basic lines, he brings out Briand's mental and moral traits in clear and visible forms. A portrait of a politician who was a poet, written by a poet who was a politician.

DIETER CUNZ

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

DUEL FOR THE NORTHLAND: THE WAR OF ENEMY AGENTS IN SCANDINAVIA. By Kurt Singer. (New York, Robert M. McBride, 1943, pp. x, 212, \$2.75.) *Duel for the Northland* tries to portray the activities of enemy agents in Scandinavia, and the story centers around Horst von Pflug-Hartung, "the German master-spy," who sought to match wits with Ernst Friedrich Wollweber, the master mind of the OGPU, who was willing to "murder, kill, rob and spy in order to help the tragic horde of the underprivileged." Neither of the two agents was interested "in money or honor or fame" (p. 32). The one was a patriot of a Greater Germany and the other was interested in a world revolution. The author believes that it was the activities of Pflug-Hartung that delivered Denmark into the hands of the German Army without a struggle, and that he, similarly, won the Battle of Norway. These conclusions indicate clearly that the author does not know the history of the Scandinavian countries since 1920. It is extremely doubtful that Pflug-Hartung influenced events in Scandinavia either one way or another. The author is careless with facts and turns molehills into mountains. A historian might be slightly amused by it and the average reader bored. The former minister of foreign affairs, Rickard Sandler of Sweden, is portrayed as "tall" (p. 167) which is hardly the case; Hermann Goering married "rich Karin von Kantzow" in Sweden instead of Karin Fock; Danish events become helplessly entangled with Norwegian events; Swedish justice which the author criticizes elsewhere seems fair in the mild sentence given to Wollweber. The chapter on Axel Werner-Gren as an agent of death is disappointing; the books on the Swedish list of confiscations seem too inclusive (p. 135). Too much is made of Sven Hedin as "the most important fascist" in Sweden. Hedin has been aging very rapidly and is almost entirely blind. Though the chapters on Norway are slightly better than those on Denmark and Sweden, the book as such has no great merits. It is the work of a journalist and does not represent journalism at its best.

O. FRITIOF ANDER

DANMARKS INDUSTRIELLE UDVIKLING. (Copenhagen, 1943, pp. 445.)

FINLAND OCH NORDEN. By Henning Soderhjelm. (Stockholm, Kooperativa förbundets bokförlag, 1944, pp. 52, kr. 1.00.)

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

HITLER'S WORDS: TWO DECADES OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM, 1923-1943. Edited by *Gordon W. Prange*. With an Introduction by Frederick Schuman. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, pp. xi, 400.) This volume fills a gap by making available within readable compass the chief utterances of Hitler from 1922 to 1943. Here, in well-organized form, is material for following the tortuous track of a twisted mind but the mind of a supremely successful propagandist. Dr. Prange has put present and future historians in his debt by his labors in translating and arranging material drawn from the *Völkischer Beobachter* as well as other sources—in all two thousand speeches and proclamations. This volume and the study by Heiden (see p. 118) are an excellent foundation for the study of Hitler and Nazi ideology.

GERMAN RADIO PROPAGANDA: REPORT ON HOME BROADCASTS DURING THE WAR. By *Ernst Kris* and *Hans Speier*. [Studies of the Institute of World Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 543, \$4.00.) "Its main source the confidential Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts issued by the British Broadcasting Corporation, this study analyzes the German radio propaganda broadcasts to the people inside Germany."

HITLER'S GENERALS. By *W. E. Hart* [pseud.]. (New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1944, pp. 233, \$2.75.) "Biographies of German generals under Hitler and in Hitler's war. The author served as an officer in the Reichswehr under the German Republic."

NAZI WAR FINANCE AND BANKING. By *Otto Nathan*. [Financial Research Program, Our Economy in War, Occasional Paper 20.] (New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1944, pp. iii, 97, 50 cents.)

THE NAZI ECONOMIC SYSTEM: GERMANY'S MOBILIZATION FOR WAR. By *Otto Nathan* with the collaboration of *Milton Fried*. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1944, pp. 387, \$4.00.) "This examination of the methods and techniques which Germany used in preparing for war was begun at the request of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense in Washington."

THE UNTAMED BALKANS. By *Frederic W. L. Konacs*. (London, Robert Hale, Ltd., 1942, pp. 183.) To write a political and economic history of the Balkan states, an account of their present condition, and a forecast of their postwar future, within these restricted limits is a most difficult task. But the author of this handbook has shown an impartiality rare in Balkan historians, though his knowledge of the various states is unequal. He seems to be most familiar with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, whereas in his account of Greece he makes the date of the War of Independence, the historic '21, "1820" (pp. 12f, 129), ignores the services of Janina to Greek education, underestimates the character of Venizelos, whose knowledge of Anglo-Saxon mentality and American history was amazing, omits the success of the Refugees' settlement, and the masterly strategy of Metaxas, who warned Venizelos against the Asia Minor campaign and held up the Italian advance in this war. In his summary of Greek history there is no word about the long Frankish period. His account of Rumanian origins is singularly fair; he is well up in Croatian politics, and realizes that the Balkans are the "bridge between East and West," and mainly agricultural, though governed, and sometimes misgoverned, by their urban minorities, while the peasant's son aspires to wear a white collar and study at the university and thereafter enter overcrowded professions. Sketch maps of each country illustrate this historic summary.

WILLIAM MILLER

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- PAUL BOESCH. Das toggenburgische Militärwesen zur Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. *Ibid.*, XXIV, no. 1.
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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

CONTEMPORARY ITALY: ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ORIGINS. By Count Carlo Sforza. Translated by Drake and Denise de Kay. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. xiii, 430, \$3.50.) It is extremely difficult for the historian to take seriously this book which states, rather lightly not to say flippantly, first, that "nothing is vainer or more unnatural than to write a book with other books," and secondly, that "it is not difficult to learn to write a well-constructed and well-balanced book; but that belongs to literary cookery." Count Sforza, who seems to attach undue significance to his personal testimony, expects to be taken seriously when he says: "The only thing I wish for this book—nothing else matters to me—is that my readers will feel that my evidence has been weighed with one sole desire—to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." One can readily grant the author's sincerity and at the same time conclude that what he says about events and developments, of which he has been an eyewitness, does not even distantly approach the whole truth. For example, the pages on the Giolitti Cabinet of 1920-1921, in which Sforza was foreign minister and which he pretentiously calls the Giolitti-Sforza Cabinet, contain much personal testimony. A good deal of this testimony is not particularly revealing and it seems to lack the fullness of detail which one would expect from a cabinet member as highly placed as Sforza. It is possible therefore to profess to give personal

testimony and to tell the whole truth, without making a significant contribution to historical knowledge. The forty-two essays which make up the text of the book cover a wide and almost bewildering range of topics dealing with the history of Italy since the Renaissance—Machiavelli, the opera, dialects, church and state, socialism, fascism, etc. To these essays, the author brings the impressions and reflections of his cultivated mind and his broad political experience. Much of what he says is penetrating and suggestive. All of it is certainly worth reading and consulting, provided that it be done with caution.

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- MARIO EINAUDI. Don Sturzo's Fifty Years of Work for God and Italy. *America*, May 20.
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- JAMES MEENAN. Italian Colonial Policy and Problems [cont.]. *Studies*, Mar.
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- RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. Italian Prospects in the Post-War World. *Jour. Central Eur. Affairs*, Apr.
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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

"REGULYARNOE" GOSUDARSTVO PETERA PERVOVO I YEVO IDEOLOGIYA [Peter I's "regular" state and its ideology]. By B. I. Syromyatnikov. Chast [Part] I. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1943, pp. 212, 12r.) "The first part of this monograph is devoted to a comprehensive historiographic survey of the views held in the course of two centuries regarding Peter and his reforms; also to an analysis of the historical premises of the state organized by Peter and of its connection with and relation to the state of the previous era."

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE USSR. Edited by V. P. Volgin, E. V. Tarle, and A. M. Pankratova. (Moscow, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, pp. 288, 15r.) This work, the text of which is wholly in Russian, is a survey of the achievements of Soviet scholarship in the field of history. The chapters are by various hands and they cover studies of the past of the Union as well as of other countries. Archaeology and Byzantinology are dealt with in separate sections, while central Asia and the Caucasus are also singled out for special treatment. The volume is issued under the auspices of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences.

RUSSIA AND THE PEACE. By *Sir Bernard Pares*. (New York, Macmillan, pp. 304, \$2.50.) "A summary and answers to questions on Russia most often asked of this English author, who has visited Russia twenty-one times since 1898 and who has lived, traveled, and studied there, often serving in an official capacity for the British government, always working for Anglo-Russian friendship."

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E. H. Pritchard

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THE NETHERLANDS INDIES AND JAPAN: BATTLE ON PAPER, 1940-1941. By *Hubertus J. Van Mook*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 138, \$2.00.) "A chronicle of the political and economic relations between Japan and the Netherlands' colonies in Asia in the last two years before the outbreak of the Pacific War. The author is Netherlands Minister for the Colonies."

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

THE ROAD TO SALEM. By *Adelaide L. Fries*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. x, 316, \$4.00.) This is an intensely human account of the settlements of the Moravians, first in Pennsylvania and later in North Carolina. It is the autobiography of a woman who was brought up in Pennsylvania, where she saw the establishment of Bethlehem and thence went as the bride of a doctor to the settlement in Wachovia in what is now Forsyth county, North Carolina, supplemented with other material drawn from contemporary documents of the Unitas Fratrum. The story deals with the establishment of Salem as the central town of Wachovia. The narrator is Anna Catharina Ernst (1726-1816), who wrote her autobiography in 1803 at the age of 77. As Dr. Fries says in her preface, "Catharina happens to have been an unusual woman, with varied contacts and responsibilities, and it is doubtful whether any other Moravian of her day saw life from as many different angles." She records the most intimate details of individual and community life and also contacts with larger movements of her time. The villages of Wachovia were spared the threatened depredations of Indians, because of their well-built stockades and of the hourly blowing of the night watchmen's horns and the ringing of bells for early morning worship, which as it turned out were mistaken by Indian groups as alert signals against their repeated approaches. The Moravians as a group, being pacifist, took no part on either side in the Revolutionary War. They agreed to pay triple taxes to the provincial government to be relieved of compulsory service, but a number of their younger men volunteered in the patriot cause, this being left as a matter of individual conscience. Throughout the book run strains of their abiding faith and of their neighborly co-operation. Dr. Fries, for many years custodian of the Moravian Records of North Carolina and now archivist of the southern province of the Moravian church, is quite the best qualified person to have prepared such a book, and she has done it with exceptional skill and enlightenment. ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1785-1943. By *John Paul Cadden*, St. Anselm's Priory, Brookland, D. C. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, Number 82.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xi, 122.) Because the relationship between the Catholic minority and the American government and social institutions has seldom been of national importance, the history of the Catholic church in the United States, unlike the Catholic history of western Europe, has remained a special field of history. Catholicism, it is true, has been the major opponent of negative Puritanism, the anti-Catholic activities of the 1840's and 1850's, and the A.P.A. and revived Ku Klux Klan movements, but these were not essentially Catholic activities. In three volumes, of which this is the first, Dr. Cadden proposes to examine critically the historical literature about positive Catholic activity in the United States. He has postponed to the second and third volumes the examination of non-Catholic studies of American Catholic history and a bibliography of the writings in this special field. In this volume he gives a brief account of the writers of American Catholic history from 1785 to 1943. The author thus excludes the difficult evaluation of colonial writings; furthermore, he does not explain his criterion for a Catholic historian. He lists most of those whose accounts have been published, but he omits Bishop Simon Bruté and Father Stephen Theodore Badin, who wrote of American missions, and the reports in the *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* and the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, both of which are as important historically as the reports of Bishops England and Flaget mentioned by the author. One can disagree also with the explanation of the scarcity of early Catholic writing. The difficulties—such as poverty, the need of doctrinal tracts, foreign language handicaps, and the concentration of the Catholic leaders on the great mission problems implicit in immigration and westward expansion—were not so much outside as within the Catholic body. Because of this the brief account of John Gilmary Shea has additional significance in that, despite the handicaps, Shea kept his writings very close to his laboriously collected manuscripts. Dr. Cadden pays deserved tribute to Dr. Peter Guilday, who, more than anyone else, has kept alive Catholic historical scholarship in recent years. The chapter on local Catholic historical societies points out the unfortunate brevity of their existences. The volume is, of course, incomplete without the proposed second and third volumes.

THOMAS T. McAVOY

EMPIRE OF THE AIR: JUAN TRIPPE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD AIRWAYS. By *Matthew Josephson*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1944, pp. ix, 236, \$3.00.) This volume is chiefly concerned with problems of the future and America's peace and policy in international and domestic air transport. The author of the *Robber Barons* treats Juan T. Trippe and Pan American Airways somewhat less devastatingly than he did the Harrimans, Goulds, and Vanderbilts. He sees in the meteoric rise of Trippe and his company with the aid in early years of \$125,000,000 in government subsidies as a sky written and portentous augury of future monopoly and international and domestic discord. The writing is vigorous. In a longer perspective the sixteen years here treated may some day seem even more important than they do to Mr. Josephson's present-day readers.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FIRST PRINTING OF THE WRITINGS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE TOGETHER WITH A RECORD OF FIRST AND CONTEMPORARY LATER PRINTINGS OF HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANNUALS, ANTHOLOGIES, PERIODICALS, AND NEWSPAPERS ISSUED DURING HIS

LIFETIME; ALSO SOME SPURIOUS POEANA AND FAKES. Compiled by Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny. Revised edition. [Heartman's Historical Series, Number 53.] (Hattiesburg, Miss., The Book Farm, 1943, pp. 294, \$10.00.)

CONCERNING MR. LINCOLN, IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS PICTURED AS HE APPEARED TO LETTER WRITERS OF HIS TIME. Compiled by Harry E. Pratt. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1944, pp. ix, 145, \$3.00.) In this well-edited little book Harry E. Pratt, late executive secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, has gathered together sixty-two letters and documents written by people who knew Lincoln. Most of the letters have never been published before, and most of them were written within a few days after the authors saw Lincoln. The documents range in time from Lincoln's political career in the fifties through the presidency and end with the assassination and the trial of the conspirators. The great majority of the writers were relatively obscure people: college boys, Springfield friends, office seekers, and relatives. Only a few "greats" are represented: William H. Herndon with six letters, David Davis, Richard Yates, and Ezra Cornell. The contemporary quality of the letters invests them with special significance as source material. In this book the reader can see Lincoln as the people of his time saw him, which is infinitely better than seeing him through the inaccurate afterglow of retrospections and reminiscences. Some interesting opinions of Lincoln emerge in these pages. Several observers detected his greatness and penned sincere tributes to him. Others never penetrated beyond his outward manners and appearance. One thought him terribly "un-cooth," and another wrote disgustedly, "I have known small men from the Illinois Legislature to cut a big figure in Congress, and an old *poke easy*, that used to walk our streets and was said to be *hen pecked* to be President of the United States." The book is a definite contribution to Lincolniana. Mr. Pratt has not presented any great mass of startling new information, but he has compiled a set of documents in convenient form that throws useful light upon Lincoln and his problems and his times. The result more than confirms the compiler's modest hope that the book will be of significance to Lincoln students.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

JOHN MERLE COULTER: MISSIONARY IN SCIENCE. By Andrew Denny Rodgers, III. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. viii, 321, \$3.75.) A biography of a great scientist and educator that covers an important sector in the history of science in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Botany has apparently found in Dr. Rodgers a devoted and competent historian. Other volumes in the field are well under way.

2D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 124.)

5TH DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 76.)

80TH DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 77.)

92D DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 45.)

THEY PLAYED THE GAME: THE STORY OF BASEBALL GREATS. By *Harry Grayson*. (New York, A. S. Barnes, 1944, pp. xiii, 139, \$2.00.) Gradually a literature is being built up that will make possible the history of baseball. Harry Grayson's slight volume is a collection of clever pen pictures of great players from "Cap" Anson and Dan Brouthers down to Babe Ruth. The older fans will clamor for more and the younger ones will have to admit there were giants in those days.

THE JUDGMENT OF HISTORY ON AMERICAN BUSINESS. By *Stanley Pargellis*, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago. [A Newcomen Address] (Chicago, The Newcomen Society, American Branch, 1943, pp. 24.)

DESARROLLO DE LA DEMOCRACIA NORTEAMERICANA. By *Isaac Joslin Cox*, Professor Emérito de Historia en la Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. (Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1943, pp. 178.)

MR. ROOSEVELT. By *Compton Mackenzie*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1944, pp. 256, \$3.75.) This volume, if it were not written by an Englishman and had not omitted domestic matters after 1932, might easily be taken for a campaign biography. Mr. Mackenzie treats the President as a world figure and ranks him above any other name. The illustrations are exceptionally good, many being in color.

TREATIES IN FORCE: A LIST OF TREATIES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ACTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN FORCE ON DECEMBER 31, 1941. [Department of State, Publication 2103.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. viii, 275, 40 cents.)

THE AMERICAN SENATE AND WORLD PEACE. By *Kenneth Colegrove*, Professor of Political Economy, Northwestern University. (New York, Vanguard Press, 1944, pp. 208, \$2.00.) It would be difficult to imagine a more timely or a more challenging book than this one, for it provides the most complete and the most cogent argument that has yet been written against the two thirds rule in the Senate for the ratification of treaties. Approximately one half of the treatise is devoted to a historical and analytical discussion of the two thirds rule showing why it was adopted, how it has been used and abused, and what the influences are that favor its retention. Professor Colegrove's main contention centers around the undemocratic character of the rule, and the use that has been and can be made of it by vested interests and by senators who wish to thwart the foreign policy of a president. He does not quite explain the origin of the rule, makes a few errors of fact in his swiftly moving survey, and misses entirely the capitulation of Taft to the anti-League people in 1919. But these items do not detract seriously from his account which is generally accurate and always pungent. The second half of the study deals briefly with the use of executive agreements and joint resolutions to escape the effects of the two thirds rule and with the disadvantages of the practice. Primarily, however, this part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the Senate as it is constituted at present and to an appraisal of the chances that a Senate minority would sabotage a wise and far-reaching foreign policy at the end of this war unless the two thirds rule is abolished. Professor Colegrove has

written with clarity and facility a significant treatise on government and an important tract for the times. It is a work that deserves to be widely read.

RUHL J. BARTLETT

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN VERMONT. By *John C. Huden*. (Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1943, pp. xi, 277, \$4.50.) The evolution of state control of Vermont's public elementary ("common") schools is the doctoral thesis of the present Vermont high school supervisor. He concludes that Vermont variants from national educational history are conditioned by its continued rural character, and by the steady emigration of its young. His complicated organization is confusing and leads to repetition. Opening with a statistical view, the author sketches the social background to 1850 with emphasis on the influence of governors and other leaders. Returning to earliest settlement, and still interweaving references to the effect of war, boom, depression, and migration on the supply of teachers and scholars, he traces the growth of school organization to 1939. The meat of the volume follows—topical analysis of changes in school taxation, training and certification of teachers, and supervision. Educational philosophies are beyond the scope of the study. Passing reference is made to the penetration of European ideas in the late nineteenth century, and to the early Vermont kindergarten law of 1886. A concluding section describes the seesaw conflict of localism and centralism, ending in the belated acceptance of the centralist Carnegie report of 1912. There is illuminating evidence in the extensive appendix, and too brief an index. Sources, well exploited, are predominantly official. Use of manuscripts and newspaper is limited because of emphasis on administrative history and the low yield of pertinent evidence. The treatment of the late nineteenth century is thin; few auxiliary studies are available. Social background to 1850 is fuller. More study is needed on the power of the local school board, the late appearance of consolidated schools, the advent of compulsory attendance, the service after 1920 of the University of Vermont's department of education and its summer session in training teachers and other educational leaders.

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

THE BURLINGTON COURT BOOK: A RECORD OF QUAKER JURISPRUDENCE IN WEST NEW JERSEY, 1680-1709. Edited by *H. Clay Reed*, Associate Professor of History, University of Delaware, and *George J. Miller*, Counsellor at Law, Perth Amboy, New Jersey. [American Legal Records, Volume V, edited for the American

Historical Association by the Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.] (Washington, American Historical Association, 1944, pp. lv, 372, \$7.50.) This corpus of legal records is significant for the history and development of American law for several reasons. It affords the student an excellent example of the actual processes involved in transplanting English legal institutions to America. Property rights and other customary law had to be re-examined and defined in terms of a new physical and a much altered social environment. Moreover the province of West New Jersey was in origin a Quaker colony; hence the student may observe in these records variations in law by the members of a sect whose whole outlook was tempered by reasonableness. During the early years Burlington Court enjoyed the status of a provincial court because, with the exception of that of Fenwick's wayward colony at Salem, county courts were slow in developing. The separate existence of West Jersey came to a close in 1702. By 1709, when this record ends, the judicial machinery of the crown was fully operative and the judicial norms are those of a royal colony. The Quaker ascendancy in West Jersey had waned, and Burlington Court had been reduced to the status of a county court. From 1680 to 1702 the compass had been boxed, and the first Quaker experiment had passed into history. For the student of colonial history, however, the *Burlington Court Book* rivals in importance the minutes of the Council of Proprietors of West New Jersey and the minutes of the various monthly meetings of Friends as an original source. The copying and editing of this body of material, which runs to 350 pages, was a task of large labor. It has been excellently done. In addition Professor Reed has written a first-rate historical introduction. His heavily documented annotation is more than compensated for by a series of discoveries that will delight the specialist in this field. The absence of the legal introduction, "not completed in time for publication," is indeed a disappointment to the serious scholar.

JOHN E. POMFRET

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY JOHN BASSETT MOORE AT THE DEDICATION OF THE JOHN BASSETT MOORE HIGH SCHOOL AT SMYRNA, DELAWARE, 17 JUNE, 1936, TOGETHER WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS WRITINGS. (New Haven, The Trustees of the John Bassett Moore Fund, 1944, pp. 50.) Interesting as a fragment of autobiography, for the bibliography, and for the promise of the publication of Judge Moore's collected papers.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF WEST VIRGINIA (1861-1863). Edited by *Charles H. Ambler, Frances Haney Atwood, and William B. Matthews*, under direction of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia. (Huntington, Gentry Brothers, 1943, pp. viii, 104; 920; 1183; 888; 91, \$12.50. Distributed by the West Virginia State Board of Control, Charleston, West Virginia.) In a strict sense these volumes are an authorized report rather than an official record. Their origin is analogous to that of Madison's *Notes* of the Philadelphia Convention. As in the Federal Convention of 1787, so in the First Constitutional Convention of West Virginia an official secretary was employed who kept only the barest outline of proceedings. Granville D. Hall, a newspaper reporter, was permitted to make stenographic notes, however, and it is these along with supplementary materials gathered from the press and the official journal that make up the present document. The value of Hall's notes was recognized early in the regular session of the Convention (November 26, 1861-February 18, 1862), but a motion to

authorize publication was rejected. In the recalled session (February 12-18, 1863), a motion providing for publication "at this time or at any subsequent period" was also defeated despite the fact that it was earnestly supported by active floor leaders. This ended the matter until 1906, when West Virginia, pressed by necessities of the Virginia debt controversy, purchased the transcribed manuscript. It failed, however, to serve her purposes as expected, and it was not until the late 1930's that the West Virginia legislature recognized the public importance of the material and appropriated funds for publication. As if to make amends for the negligence of eighty years, the state has spared neither expense nor pains in bringing out the present work. Handsomely bound and printed in ten point type on a soft rag paper of enduring quality, it presents a format as usable as it is attractive. A significant feature is the 101-page introduction by C. H. Ambler, which gives the Virginia background and other basic matter "with respect to points that were determining." There are appendixes which contain the minutes of the board of commissioners, minutes of the executive committee, the address of the delegates to their constituents, and the constitution as adopted at the end of the regular session. The 91-page index in Volume III leaves little to be desired as a working guide. Needless to say, these volumes fill an important place on the shelf of Civil War history as well as in the annals of American state-making. Although it contains no striking revelations on the manner and method of West Virginia's formation, the work can not fail to have a sobering influence on those who hold extreme views on the character and nature of the new state movement. A single oversight on the part of the editors may be noted. As a matter of historic fairness, it is to be regretted that they failed to include the name of Granville D. Hall on the title page. It would have been thoughtful recognition unquestionably earned and graciously bestowed.

FESTUS P. SUMMERS

CALENDAR OF THE JEFFERSON DAVIS POSTWAR MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION' COLLECTION. (New Orleans, mimeographed, 1943, pp. ii, 325.) This calendar provides a paraphrased condensation of the documents preserved and in part assembled by Jefferson Davis and his wife in order to write a vindication of the Southern Confederacy. Davis' earlier papers, which he had carefully saved, were scattered after the fall of Richmond and many of them were never recovered. This second collection, presented to the Louisiana Historical Association by Mrs. Davis after her husband's death, was first used by Dunbar Rowland when it became available to investigators in 1911. Many of the letters were published in his *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist* (1923), to which citations are given in the calendar. The content of the collection, sketched in great detail in the calendar entries, affords valuable data on the last phase of Davis' career when he strove to uphold his policies as president of the Confederacy against attacks by prominent ex-Confederates like Joseph E. Johnston, and to produce a written memorial in defense of the "lost cause." In his quest for information and evidence he carried on a widespread correspondence; unfortunately few of the letters written by him were preserved as copies. From the standpoint of manuscript and archival work, the calendar reveals the problems of collecting material in the postwar years, the inertia as well as the willingness of persons whose aid was sought in supplying reminiscences and original war records, the loss and disposal of records in private hands which could no longer be located, and the relative inaccessibility of the official Confederate records in the custody of the War Department in Washington. However, a variety of evidence was accumulated on critical military incidents of the Civil War, treatment of prisoners, the flight and capture of Davis, and other controversial matters. The reader of the calendar gains insight into Davis' methods of gathering

his sources and a better understanding of some of the shortcomings of his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) and his *Short History of the Confederate States of America* (1890).

LESTER J. CAPPON

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

BEN HARDIN HELM: "REBEL" BROTHER-IN-LAW OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN—WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HIS WIFE AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE TODD FAMILY OF KENTUCKY. By *R. Gerald McMurtry*. (Chicago, Civil War Round Table, 1943, pp. 72, \$3.50.) A good deal of history is bound up with the story of the Confederate general Ben Hardin Helm, and an equal amount with the fortunes of Emilie his wife, half-sister of Mrs. Lincoln. The two have about equal space in the broad strokes of this little volume. In military-legal education (at K. M. I., West Point, the University of Louisville, and the Harvard law school), in politics, and in Kentucky service (as commonwealth attorney and legislator), Helm's career was cut to a pattern different from that of the Lincolns, whom he knew well, having visited them in Springfield in 1857; he respected them despite the difference. His death at Chickamauga ended a career of distinction and responsibility in the Southern army. The second half of the book is devoted to Emilie Todd Helm, "Little Sister" to Lincoln, widowed in her twenties, bound by family ties to the Northern President yet completely loyal to the Confederacy. Offered the Union oath as her husband had been offered a Union commission, she refused proudly but without sectional bitterness as he had. She lived on through many vicissitudes of war and peace. It would be well if the full record of this woman had been better preserved; her personal life epitomized the American tragedy. What we have are glimpses, including her visit to the White House where she was befriended by the Lincolns, her realization that her presence caused embarrassment which the Lincolns uncomplainingly endured, her return to wartime Kentucky where she found Lincoln's protection both a benefit and an embarrassment, and her many later years, carrying her to 1930 when at the age of ninety-three she died on a Blue Grass farm once owned by her Revolutionary ancestor, General Levi Todd. The book, privately printed for the Civil War Round Table, is documented, illustrated, and attractively made up.

J. G. RANDALL

THE MOVEMENT FOR MUNICIPAL HOME RULE IN ST. LOUIS. By *Thomas S. Barclay*, Professor of Political Science in Stanford University. [The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 3.] (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1943, pp. 138.) St. Louis has the distinction of being the first city in the United States to receive the power by constitutional grant to draft and adopt its own charter. The author of this monograph undertakes "to trace the evolution of the relations between the city of St. Louis and the state, and to indicate the development of the proposal to 'free' the city from the domination of the state legislature." A native of St. Louis, a former member of the University of Missouri faculty, and a student of the late Professor Howard Lee McBain of Columbia University, whose pioneer work in 1916 on *The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule* is well known to readers of this *Review*, the author brings unusual qualifications to his task. He does not disappoint. He begins with a brief account of the founding and early growth of St. Louis from 1763 to 1865, calling attention here and there to the introduction of distinctive features of American local government such as a popularly elected mayor, the bicameral city council, the long ballot and disintegrated administration, expanding municipal functions, mounting indebtedness, and state control of municipal police. The period from 1865 to 1875, "a decade of trial and error," witnessed repeated but relatively unsuccessful efforts in the state legislature by charter revision and special

law to deal with the problems of St. Louis city and county. Since the legislature regularly accepted the recommendations of the St. Louis delegation, however, the author brands as "palpably untrue" the frequent charge of St. Louisans that the legislature was responsible for unpopular laws or unsatisfactory conditions in the city. This period also was marked by a growing hostility between city and county. The remainder of the volume is devoted to an account of the deliberations and decisions of the constitutional convention of 1875 pertaining to the relations of St. Louis to the county and to the state. A special committee consisting of the delegates from the city and county was created, to which were referred all proposals for changes in the city and county government. Strong and able leadership led to favorable committee and convention action on city-county separation and municipal home rule, but not before the adoption of a contradictory amendment asserting the supremacy of general state law. This imposed upon the state supreme court in future years the difficult task of determining the exact scope and meaning of home rule. Both provisions attracted relatively little attention outside of St. Louis in the popular vote which ratified the constitution. Opposition in St. Louis County against separation was overcome by liberal provisions compensating the county for the loss of municipal revenues. The study is extensively documented, evidencing the thorough and original scholarship which went into its preparation. The frequent use of biographical data enlivens and enriches the story. Historians and students of contemporary political institutions alike will find in it much of interest and value.

LLOYD M. SHORT

MISSOURI, DAY BY DAY. Edited by *Floyd C. Shoemaker*. Volume II. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1943, pp. v, 499.)

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. Volume XI, THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, 1820-1829 [cont.]. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. vii, 1372, \$3.25.) Volume XI of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, the second in a series of three allotted to Michigan Territory, covers the fourth, fifth, and sixth Cass administrations and thus continues the story of the territory from 1821 through 1829. This interval marks the real beginnings of agricultural settlements and the relative decline in both the importance of the French influence and the economy dependent upon the Indian and fur trade. Naturally, a publication restricted to official documents, and arranged chronologically, cannot enumerate the causes and course of this transition, but it does constantly reflect them. Evidences of the importance and new emphasis upon local government are numerous. Petitions from newly created counties requesting more adequate transportation facilities, redress from bridge tolls, and demands for a more rapid organization in government are frequent. The administrative reports, often detailed, refer repeatedly to the economic expansion taking place. Evidence of political activity, based on personal following, becomes more tangible. The many references to the ordinance of 1787 by petitioners reflects a growing consciousness of institutional and political thinking. The entire volume, in fact, ably illustrates the problems, hopes, and processes of adaptation of a frontier territory. Legislative proceedings, patronage, Indian relationships, mail route problems, surveying difficulties, minor questions about land sales, unsettled claims of the War of 1812, official proclamations and notifications, election results, and petitions necessarily constitute the bulk of the documents. Even the inclusion of material, previously accessible, such as the account of the disputed Congressional election of 1825, assigns the evidence to a locus from which it can more properly be interpreted. Amid a cer-

tain general monotony, however, appear such items as the critical analyses of Cass, who discussed both the needs of the expanding areas and the difficulties of the remote posts such as Green Bay, and choice bits of political gossip in the correspondence between James Duane Doty and Henry Schoolcraft. The editorial workmanship of Dr. Carter has been commented upon so enthusiastically and frequently that any reference to it has the appearance of repetition. The complete adequacy of the 127-page (double-column) index, and the identification of names in it, represents a feature of editorial skill worthy of especial praise.

SYDNEY GLAZER

CALL IT NORTH COUNTRY: THE STORY OF UPPER MICHIGAN. By *John Bartlow Martin*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 298, \$5.00.) "A panorama of the history and lore of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan."

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A MYSTERIOUS LATIN INSCRIPTION IN CALIFORNIA. By *A. E. Gordon*. [University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Volume I, No. 13.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944, pp. 313-56, 50 cents.)

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

LATIN AMERICA AND THE INDUSTRIAL AGE. By *J. Fred Rippy*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944, pp. x, 277, \$3.00.) Those who feel that the history of Latin America in the national period has been written in too exclusively political a vein will doubtless welcome the publication of this book. The twenty-two short chapters here presented are designed as an introduction to what Professor Rippy calls "a grand epic: the joint mastery by Latins and Anglo-Saxons of the Latin-American physical environment, the development of Latin America's resources through science and technology." Although they by no means exhaust the list of subjects that might appropriately be considered under the title chosen, these chapters open up vistas of a boundless field of fundamental research that must be undertaken before even an approximate understanding of Latin America's reality during the last hundred years can be attained. One lays down this stimulating pioneer contribution with the realization that the men and works that form its subject matter may be considerably more significant in the long run than the roster of *caudillos* who have monopolized the pages of the histories of Latin America during the national period. The technological changes here described fall for the most part under the heading of transportation and communication. The book begins with the arrival of the steamboat on Latin-American rivers in the 1820's and 1830's. The construction of railroads, telegraphs, and telephone systems is the subject of a number of chapters. The account of developing transportation is brought up to date in a chapter entitled "Airways and the End of Isolation." Technological advances in other fields, such as mining, petroleum exploitation, public utilities, and sanitation and medicine, likewise claim considerable attention. One of the useful aspects of the book is to identify unsung heroes of technology and to outline the chronology of the subject. Since the present volume is designed to stimulate interest in a neglected field, rather than to tell the story in comprehensive and definitive form, it is a mark of success that it leaves the reader with numerous unanswered or partly answered problems. What, for example, of the social, economic, and political effects within Latin America of revolutionary technological changes? What has been done and what is being done by the nations involved to control the evils of foreign corporate exploitation on which technology has been largely dependent? To what extent, if at all, are Latin Americans increasing their own active participation in technological enterprise, and how are they going about it? Some of these large questions and many others are found in the list of "Research Suggestions" at the end of the volume. An appendix of bibliographical notes by chapters contains suggestive references to trade journals, government documents, and a wide variety of other materials for the study of technology in Latin America.

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

HISTORIA DEL DESCUBRIMIENTO Y CONQUISTA DE YUCATAN, CON UNA RESEÑA DE LA HISTORIA DE LOS MAYAS. Por Juan Francisco Molina Solís. Prologo de Antonio Mediz Bolio. Semblanza de Ermilo Abreu Gomez. Two volumes. (Mexico, D. F., Ediciones Mensaje, 1943, pp. xxx, 288; 409, \$5.00.) The writings of Juan F. Molina Solís have for many years been acknowledged as those forming the most authoritative history of Yucatan. The first edition of the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de Yucatán*, published in Merida, Yucatan, in 1896, was based on the best source material then available. One or two important published works, notably the letter of the municipal authorities of Veracruz, were not utilized, but such omissions were exceptional. The history is written in a vivid and interesting manner. The presentation is methodical, as is to be expected from an author who without fail devoted two hours to his historical writings on every Sunday for nearly half a century. The original edition, which had been a standard textbook for Yucatan and an important source of reference for many students outside Mexico, has long been exhausted, and there was need of a new one. In the forty-eight years that have elapsed since the appearance of the book, much new material, particularly with reference to the pre-conquest history of Yucatan, has come to light. In fact the outline of Maya history is hopelessly out of date. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the author's sons, who are responsible for the appearance of this second edition, did not publish a revised edition. The collaboration of some present-day historian of Yucatan, such as J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, is needed to modernize the work by the incorporation of new material in the text, or, failing that, by additional footnotes to call attention to new sources. However, even without these, a new edition of this important work is to be welcomed.

J. ERIC S. THOMPSON

THE INDIAN BACKGROUND OF COLONIAL YUCATAN. By Ralph L. Roys. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1943, pp. vii, 244, cloth \$2.75, paper \$1.75.)

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Chicago, December 28 and 29. All sessions, including the business meeting Thursday afternoon and the annual dinner and president's address that evening, will be in the Stevens Hotel, 720 South Michigan Avenue. Although the program is not yet completed, it is now sufficiently definite to warrant the assurance that it will be timely and interesting. In accordance with the usual practice, it is expected that a printed program will be mailed about November 25. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University is the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements. The chairman of the Program Committee is Professor William T. Hutchinson of the University of Chicago.

The Executive Committee of the American Historical Association met June 24 to consider the request of the War Department for a renewal of the contract to prepare discussion material in pamphlet form for use in camps here and abroad. After hearing the representatives of the Morale Division of the Army, the Executive Committee approved the renewal of the contract and this has been done with an increase of funds for the work of the Historical Service Board.

With this issue Miss Catharine Seybold assumes the duties of Assistant Editor. Miss Seybold graduated from Smith College in 1937 and received her master's degree from the University of Minnesota in 1942. Miss Margaret Blegen, who has served so competently as Assistant Editor for the last two years, has resigned to accept a position with the Office of Strategic Services.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: French notarial and legal manuscripts, 1613 to 1732; papers of the Short, Symmes, and Harrison families, and related papers, c. 1750 to 1907; one volume of accounts of Lewis Ginnedo (or Ginnodo), merchant of Newport, Rhode Island, mainly concerning shipping, 1755 to 1815; reproductions of Thomas Jefferson materials (Henry Huntington Library), 1757 to 1809; a volume, Don Joseph Morales de Aramburu y Montero, *Noticia del verdadero ventajoso estado*

político de el Perú vajo la governación de el excelentissimo señor don Manuel de Amat y Junient [Lima], 1770; agreement between Jean Joseph Carrier de Montieu and Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane to furnish articles of merchandise to Americans, August 6, 1777; twenty-five papers of James McHenry, including his diary kept during the Constitutional Convention, 1778 to 1800; seven manuscripts of the English East India Company, including letters signed by Warren Hastings, 1781 to 1785; Persian manuscript written by Abu'l Chasim Muh. Mustafa, 1197 A. H. (1782, A.D.); letter from William Bingham to Benjamin Rush, November 6, 1783; letter from Alexander Hamilton to Louis André de Pichon, August 6, 1802; memorandum of agreement between the executors of the estate of George Washington and Gabriel Lewis, March 30, 1804; one box of additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1808 to 1931; letter from Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. Samuel H. Smith, March 6, 1809; letter from David Meade Randolph, James G. Forbes, and Josiah Trumbull concerning official celebration of Washington's birthday in London, February 29, 1810; seventy-two papers of Zachary Taylor (mainly letters from Taylor to Thomas S. Jesup), 1818 to 1840; two letters from James Tilghman to Henry I. Williams, January 23, 1828, and January 27, 1829; additional papers of John Fairfield, of Maine, 1828 to 1867 (343 pieces); one box of papers of Maria Louise Thomas and others, 1831 to 1898; letter from John Quincy Adams to Daniel Mayo, March 22, 1837, and poem by Adams entitled "Gloom of Autumn"; letter from John Greenleaf Whittier to Dr. H. I. Bowditch, January 26, 1846; "Order & Letter Book" of the United States Army Medical Department, 6th Corps, Army of the Potomac, 1862 to 1865, one volume; manuscript copy of journal of Lothrop Lincoln Lewis, 1864 to 1865; diary of John Augustus Johnson, March 8 to July 17, 1865; additional papers of Ellery C. Stowell; additional papers of, or relating to, Benjamin Ticknor, c. 1878 to 1936; two boxes of the papers of Charles Henry Webb, 1870 to 1900; fifteen letters from Grover Cleveland, 1880 to 1899; three letter-books (diplomatic correspondence) of Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, October 1, 1882, to September 30, 1883; five boxes of papers of, or relating to, Susan B. Anthony, 1883 to 1934; manuscript of *An American Politician* by Francis Marion Crawford, 1884; four boxes of papers of the American Press Association, 1890 to 1898; two boxes of papers of the *North American Review* and Harper and Brothers, 1898 to 1913; one volume of papers relating to the work of Francis D. Gamewell, 1900 to 1905; eight additional papers of, or relating to, Woodrow Wilson, 1902 to 1903 (restricted); additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1905 to 1933 (restricted).

The papers of the Short, Symmes, and Harrison families, mentioned above, constitute a collection so large (about 13,000 pieces), so varied and so rich in content as to justify more extended description. John Cleves Symmes, in whose business affairs is to be found the origin of an important segment of this collection, was the father of two daughters. The younger married William Henry Harrison.

More than fifty of General Harrison's letters, with several written by his wife and by his sons, are found in the collection, as are many business papers of the Harrisons. The elder daughter of Judge Symmes married Peyton Short, of Surrey County, Virginia. A very large part of the collection is made up of the papers of Peyton Short and of his sons, John Cleves Short (who seems to have constituted himself the family archivist), and Charles William Short, physician and scientist. The correspondence of these men and their kinsmen, with their friends and business associates, supplemented by voluminous records in the form of accounts, ledgers, contracts, and other legal papers, forms a rich storehouse of material for the history of the crossing into the Mississippi Valley of the commonwealth builders and men of enterprise who followed the first pioneers across the Alleghenies. The papers of Peyton Short's brother, William Short, already owned by the Library of Congress are greatly amplified by those in the new collection, particularly with regard to Short's later life as a man of wealth in Philadelphia. One of the most interesting single items in the collection is a copy, in William Short's hand, of a catalogue of Mr. Jefferson's books.

Practically all the older records of the Department of the Treasury are now in the National Archives as a result of a large transfer of the Secretary's "Old Files," 1789-1910. Of particular historical interest among these records are the authenticated copies of correspondence with collectors of customs, 1789-1833, that were made from field office records after the 1833 fire in the Treasury Building, which destroyed most of the early records of the department. Other recent transfers include the original manuscript maps of the United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian or the Wheeler Survey (1869-79), one of the four major surveys of the West in the period following the Civil War; Navy Department records, including opinions of the Attorney General of the United States on questions submitted to him by the Secretary of the Navy, 1857-1903, and general correspondence of the Bureaus of Ordnance, 1926-39, and of Naval Personnel, 1926-40; records of the Food and Drug Administration, 1900-1943, containing unpublished studies made by such pioneers for pure food and drugs as Harvey W. Wiley; and headquarters and field records of the War Risk Litigation Bureau relating to about 24,000 closed cases. Among other field records received are records of the Collectors of Customs at Baltimore, 1783-1919, including passenger lists, 1820-1919, and at Washington (Georgetown), D. C., 1807-1900; and records of War Department arsenals at Watervliet, New York, 1814-1919, Frankfort, Pennsylvania, 1816-1935, San Antonio, Texas, 1871-1912, and Edgewood, Maryland, 1918-20, and of the Sandy Hook Proving Grounds, 1901-18.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment to the staff of the National Archives of W. Brooks Phillips, formerly of the University

of North Carolina Press, Carl J. Kulsrud, formerly of the Office of Strategic Services, and E. Sloane Wingert, formerly of the War Department. Dorothy Martin has returned to the National Archives as has Thornton W. Mitchell, who has received an honorable discharge from the Army. Maude Jones, Archivist of Hawaii, has been designated to serve as a field consultant to keep the National Archives informed on problems relating to Federal records in Hawaii and to undertake particular projects upon assignment.

President Roosevelt has recently made a number of additions to his collection of United States naval history manuscripts in the Library. Notable among them is a journal of the U. S. S. *Brandywine*, Henry E. Ballard, Commander, for the periods March 10–July 14, 1830, and October 22, 1830–September 12, 1831. About thirty letters written between January 16, 1830, and August 2, 1831, by E. T. Washburn, schoolmaster of the *Brandywine's* contingent of midshipmen, to members of his family were received with the journal. They describe life aboard ship and ports visited in the West Indies, Mexican waters, and the Mediterranean. To the already large body of David Conner manuscripts in the Library the President has added about a hundred letters written from 1808 through 1856 by and to Conner, who served as midshipman and lieutenant on board the U. S. S. *Hornet* during the War of 1812 and who commanded the Gulf Squadron during the Mexican War until the capture of Veracruz. This correspondence contains Conner's accounts of engagements in which the *Hornet* took part, his capture while commanding a prize taken in the English Channel, and the defeat of the British ship of war *Penguin* and his comments on the burning of Washington and the affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*. Also included are letters from Commodore Charles Stewart to Conner while the latter was in command of the *Dolphin* in South American waters in 1822–24; from Captain Lewis Warrington, 1834–46; from Rear Admiral Frederick Engle, 1844–45; and from various Secretaries of the Navy, 1818, 1845–53. About a hundred unrelated letters and other papers on naval affairs pertaining to the period from 1784 to 1909 have also been received from the President. Many prominent figures of the early Navy are represented, including Silas Talbot, David Porter, James Biddle, R. F. Stockton, and several Navy Secretaries, from Benjamin Stoddert to James C. Dobbin.

Fred W. Shipman, Director of the Library, has returned to the United States after serving for eight weeks in the Mediterranean theater of operations as temporary Archives Adviser to the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Sub-commission of the Allied Control Commission for Italy.

The Committee on Research in Economic History, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council has published in reprint form an exceptionally interesting report. It was prepared by the chairman, Professor Arthur H. Cole of Har-

vard, and appeared first in the *Journal of Economic History*, May, 1944. The present program of the committee is fully outlined and the co-operation is sought of younger and older workers in the field of economic history. After much discussion, the committee decided to give special eminence in its research to four fields: the role of government and the role of entrepreneurship in American economic development, the rise and evolution of the corporation, and the history of banking. Anyone not having access to the May issue of the *Journal of Economic History* can secure the report by addressing Box 37, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The Rhees Library, University of Rochester, has received on deposit the papers of George Washington Patterson (1799-1879). There are 530 items including important exchanges of letters with Thurlow Weed, Seward, and James Wadsworth. These deal with political and economic problems, especially in the thirties and forties of the last century.

The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, recently acquired the last large group of Jefferson papers known to be still in private hands. It consists of approximately five thousand items covering the years 1725-1850, including about 60 Jefferson holograph letters and 375 letters to Jefferson. For the most part these are intimate and domestic in nature, for they are the letters his daughters and grandchildren wrote to him while he was away from Monticello. To the Jefferson items a large and important group of Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas' letters had been added; Nicholas' daughter married Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Jefferson's grandson. The Nicholas papers, plus the correspondence of at least two generations of descendants, make up the rest of the collection.

For some years, since 1920 to be exact, the *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire* has summarized the debates in thirty-three British Commonwealth parliaments. These go to all members of these bodies and to others by subscription. Now the Empire Parliamentary Association has ventured to do a similar quarterly summary for its members and subscribers of the proceedings of the Congress of the United States. The first issue is skilfully and interestingly done and promises well for the future of the enterprise. The publisher of the *Summary*, so called to distinguish it from the existing *Journal*, is the Oxford University Press, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. The annual subscription is five dollars.

The Charles F. Heartman collection of material relating to the Negro and slavery, consisting of some ten thousand printed titles, and more than five thousand manuscripts, is catalogued and made available for use to research workers, at any time. The collection is housed at The Book Farm, Route 3, Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

The following memorandum concerning post-service fellowships has been received from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation: The trustees of the Foundation have appropriated \$200,000 for post-service fellowships as an addition to the usual fellowship budgets. These funds will be used to grant fellowships to young scholars and artists who are serving the nation in the armed and other Governmental services, including those doing war research under contracts made by the Office of Scientific Research and Development and similar agencies. The post-service fellowships will be granted upon the same basis as the other fellowships of the Foundation, to persons who have demonstrated unusual capacity for research and artistic creation. They will be granted before the end of the war and will be made available for the use of the recipients whenever they are discharged from service. Five such fellowships have been awarded.

Other applications for the fellowships of the Foundation are due on or before October 15 of each year but no final date has been fixed for the receipt of applications for the Foundation's post-service fellowships. Persons who wish to apply for post-service fellowships are urged to file their applications as soon as possible with Henry Allen Moe, Secretary General, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A prize of \$2000, to be known as the Klieforth Canadian-American History Prize, is offered for the best manuscript of a book to be entitled *North American History: A Common History of the United States and Canada* and suitable for use by students in the eleventh grade. The aim of the work is to give a clearer picture of our North American ways of life, and to promote a better understanding between the peoples of the United States and Canada. The manuscript should not be longer than 175,000 words. It should be submitted, under a pseudonym, to the chairman of the panel of judges, Professor A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minn., on or before July 1, 1946. At the same time, each competitor should write to the American Consul General in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, giving the name of the pseudonym under which he, or she, has submitted the manuscript. It is suggested that the treatment of the period since the American Civil War and the Canadian Federation be roughly equal to the discussion of the earlier period.

The Alexander Prize offered by the Royal Historical Society, London, has been awarded this year to the Reverend E. W. Kemp for his essay on "Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints." For conditions of the award see *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (July, 1943), 894.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies will be held November 23-25 in Cleveland, Ohio. The meeting will be focused upon the problems and issues facing social studies teachers as we return to an era of peace.

An interesting development during the present war has been the attempt of the various Government agencies to write history as it is being made. Many prominent historians are already aiding the Government in making this project a success, but others are still needed—historians who are known as authorities in their fields of specialization. At present, there is a shortage of persons who are qualified for positions paying \$4600 and \$5600 per annum and who will accept appointment in Washington, D. C. There is also a demand for persons who have supplemented their research by travel or residence in Latin America, Central Europe, or the Far East. College teachers of history or political science and other persons engaged in research in these fields are urged to submit applications (Form 57) to the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C. Form 57 may be secured from first- and second-class post offices, U. S. Civil Service Regional Offices, or directly from the Commission in Washington. Federal appointments are made in accordance with War Manpower Commission policies.

Personal

On August 3 it was announced in London that among the victims of German aerial bombs was Hubert Hall, then in his eighty-seventh year. To the generations of American historical students going to London for research work in the years from 1879 to 1921 the name of Hubert Hall came to stand for Chancery Lane and the Public Record Office. Whether one went with a note of introduction to him from Jameson or Haskins or Osgood or C. M. Andrews or G. B. Adams, or whether one turned up timid and unsponsored, Hubert Hall was to all the quiet, sympathetic, kindly, and comprehending scholar who smoothed the way to the treasures between early charters and the wavering date line for dispatches too recent to be released by the Foreign Office. During his long life Mr. Hall was a member of many historical committees and commissions and taught paleography and economic history for some thirty years in the schools of the University of London. He was for fifty years a steady contributor to historical and antiquarian journals.

Dr. James Tait, F.B.A., emeritus professor of history in Manchester University, England, died July 4, 1944, in Wilmslow, Cheshire, in his eighty-second year. He was born and educated in Manchester, transferred to Oxford, where he was an exhibitor of Balliol and later a fellow of Pembroke College, and spent his entire teaching career, from assistant lecturer to professor, in Manchester (1887-1919). A younger contemporary of Charles Gross and F. W. Maitland, a close friend of Vinogradoff, Ballard, and Mary Bateson, and, above all, the *alter ego* of T. F. Tout, he became the acknowledged master of British local history and of municipal history in particular. The wide range of his interests was apparent in the commemoration volume that friends and students dedicated to him in 1933 on the

occasion of his seventieth birthday. His publications included *Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire* (1904), the continuation volume of Ballard's *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307* (1923), and a number of "Court Rolls" and "Session Records" edited for the antiquarian societies of Lancashire and Cheshire. His most incisive studies on the constitutional history of English towns were collected in his last volume, *The Medieval English Borough* (1936). He was a life-long reviewer for, and contributor to, the *English Historical Review* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a governor of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and a onetime president of Manchester's renowned Chetham Society. A quiet and unobtrusive scholar, he found his recreation in mountain climbing. His last visit to his beloved Lakes ended in an accident which brought on his final illness.

Dr. Christopher B. Coleman of Indianapolis, well-known Indiana historian, died on June 26 from a heart attack at the age of sixty-nine. He is known to the historical profession as a leader in the state historical field, particularly for his many contributions to Indiana history, both as a writer and editor and as an administrator. He served as director of the Indiana Historical Bureau and the Indiana Historical Collections and also as secretary of the Indiana Historical Society from 1924 until his death. In 1936 he was made director of the Indiana State Library. Dr. Coleman was graduated from Yale University in 1896, was trained in divinity at the University of Chicago, and later continued his historical studies at the University of Berlin and Columbia University, from which he received his doctor's degree. He took a particular interest in historical organization, and for twelve years was secretary of the Conference of Historical Societies. He was a scholar of wide interests whose publications included not only many studies and articles on Indiana history but also a work on Constantine the Great. Before 1924 Dr. Coleman taught history for nearly a quarter of a century in Butler and Allegheny colleges. He was an effective administrator, modest, likable, and unassuming, whose methods of promoting popular understanding of local and regional history were highly successful in his own state and influential beyond Indiana. He recognized the need of making the materials of state history available and was responsible for many valuable documentary publications.

David Eugene Smith, emeritus professor of mathematics in Teachers College (Columbia), died July 29 in his eighty-fifth year. Professor Smith was a prolific and distinguished writer in the field of the history of mathematics. His own library in this field was one of the most extensive private collections in the world. It is now in the possession of Columbia University.

Following a short illness, Dr. Cardinal Goodwin died on June 23 at the age of sixty-four. A native of Arkansas and a graduate of Brown University, he taught in various secondary schools while studying for the master of arts degree at Brown

and for the doctorate at the University of California. In 1918 he was appointed professor of American history at Mills College, where he was a respected and admired figure for the rest of his career. Cardinal Goodwin was an early member of the California school of historians and helped to make its reputation by his writings, which included: *The Establishment of State Government in California* (1914), *The Trans-Mississippi West from 1803 to 1853: A Brief History of Its Acquisition and Settlement* (1922), and *John C. Fremont: An Explanation of His Career* (1930). He edited the second volume of the collection of documents entitled *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, published in 1932 in honor of his teacher and friend Herbert Eugene Bolton. Various articles and numerous reviews in this and other historical quarterlies came from his pen, and he contributed to the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Dictionary of American History*. This extensive and useful historical work was recognized by his election to the presidency of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association for 1927 and to the original board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

The review over his name in this issue was dictated from his hospital bed. He knew that otherwise it would be an unfinished task. A gallant gesture by an undaunted spirit.

Edward Luther Stevenson, formerly professor of history at Rutgers University, died on July 16 in his eighty-fifth year. A native of Illinois, he graduated from Franklin College in 1881 and in subsequent years studied at various German universities, receiving his doctor's degree from Heidelberg in 1890. His interests covered geography (cartography) as well as history. He was active in the Hispanic Society of America and was decorated by the Spanish government and honored by several South American republics. He translated and edited the *Geography* of Claudius Ptolemy (1931) and also published maps illustrating *Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-30* and *Christopher Columbus and His Enterprise* (1913) and an *Atlas of Portolan Charts* (1911) as well as other cartographical studies.

Herbert D. Winters, retired after service as professor of history in Keuka College, died in Riderwood, Maryland, June 22.

Dr. Hans Baron has been appointed a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, for the academic years 1944-45 and 1945-46. He will continue his studies on the political and economic foundations of the Florentine Renaissance and on the growth of humanism in its interrelations with the Florentine Commonwealth from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

Ralph E. Turner of the Department of State has been appointed professor of history in Yale University; George Wilson Pierson, formerly associate professor,

has been promoted to professor of history, and Lewis Perry Curtis, formerly assistant professor, has been promoted to associate professor of history, both in Yale University.

Professor Earl Hamilton of Duke University has accepted a call to a professorship in Northwestern University.

The University of Wisconsin announces the appointment to a professorship in history of Dr. Merrill M. Jensen of the University of Washington.

Dr. Richard Current of the department of history of Hamilton College becomes professor of history at the Northern Michigan College of Education, Marquette, Michigan, in place of L. A. Chase, retired as of September 1.

Alice F. Tyler has been promoted to the rank of associate professor and Lawrence Steefel to the rank of professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

John Hall Stewart of the department of history of Western Reserve University has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

James Ferguson King of Northwestern University has accepted a call to the University of California as assistant professor in the department of history.

Edward T. Booth of Canaan, N. Y., and Stearns Morse, professor of English at Dartmouth College, have received the 1944 Alfred A. Knopf fellowships in biography and history, respectively. Each award amounts to \$2,500. Mr. Booth, an editorial writer on the New York *Herald Tribune*, has been commissioned to write a history of country life in America from colonial times to our own as illustrated in the lives of twelve Presidents. Professor Morse will write a story of the development of American commerce and industry, centering his study on three New England entrepreneurs.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I believe that this is the first time I have written in criticism of a book review. I cannot, however, avoid the responsibility of protesting against the treatment in the April issue of Dr. Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts*. Dr. Aptheker's thesis is correctly stated to be that "discontent and rebelliousness were . . . characteristic of American Negro slaves." The reviewer mentions that

"most writers have magnified their [the slaves'] docility." He also states that the work "is clearly the result of tireless industry and tremendous research." In view of the originality of the thesis and the research devoted to its development, it would seem that the volume should be deserving of a careful if critical examination.

The reviewer, however, Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina, has not treated the volume with seriousness; he has merely attempted a brisk brush-off. The review really terminated with, and is summed up in, the first sentence in the third paragraph: "In my judgment he fails completely to prove his thesis." The page which follows is devoted to misrepresentation of Dr. Aptheker's methods, defense of slavery, and a sweeping charge of unspecified errors and defects, the whole riddled with contradictions and unsupported by specific evidence or examples.

The author, he states, "apparently accepts every rumor as fact. . . . Many of these rumors are now known not to be true. . . . It is . . . absurd to swallow whole every rumor that found its way into print or manuscript in the jittery South." Which of the "many . . . rumors" accepted by Dr. Aptheker, "are now known not to be true"? The author is fully aware of the existence of rumors and frequently refutes their validity, despite Professor Hamilton's implication that his custom was "to swallow whole every rumor . . . in the jittery South." And why jittery, I wonder, if these rumors were hardly ever confirmed? Dr. Aptheker is by implication accused of depending on "such periodicals as the *Liberator* and the *New York Tribune*, and the material contained in the speeches of the antislavery orators." A glance at the footnotes should be sufficient to refute this charge; the *Liberator* is frequently referred to, but nearly always in association with a variety of other authorities or in quoting from the Southern press. And Professor Hamilton earlier mentioned "the extensive and valuable bibliography of source and secondary material."

Dr. Aptheker asserts approximately 250 revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery," with "a minimum of ten slaves involved." Professor Hamilton declares that "revolts seldom materialized, just as rumored conspiracies, more often than not, had no reality." But what about the 250 which Dr. Aptheker claims to have discovered in contemporary accounts? Did *they* have any reality? If the answer is in the negative, then which of them did not, and what grounds are there for the denial?

Professor Hamilton takes exception to Dr. Aptheker's emphasis on the cruelty inherent in the slavery system, but the author is writing on American Negro slave *revolts*, not on American Negro slavery in general; the reviewer himself admits that "cases of cruelty were not infrequent." He complains that "the author does not know the South of the period of slavery, nor yet does he knew slavery as it was. He has overlooked the sources that would have informed him and discounted the secondary works based upon those sources." What "sources"? What "secondary works"? And where is the evidence that these unnamed "sources" and "secondary works" present a truer picture than those allegedly employed by the author?

Professor Hamilton also denies that "the slaveholding South consciously and deliberately debased a whole race for the sake of profits." If to deprive human beings of the legal right to marry, acquire property, and obtain an education, if to reduce them to the rank of chattels, without control over their own persons, and, finally, if to declare and enforce the doctrine of their essential and permanent

inferiority and servility because of their race and color is not at least to attempt their debasement, what term should be applied to the process?

The reviewer concludes: "Limits of space prevent the mention of numerous specific errors, as well as of several serious defects of arrangement, treatment, and interpretation." But "limits of space" did not prevent two paragraphs of unsubstantiated insistence upon Dr. Aptheker's alleged tendency to accept baseless rumors, and two more paragraphs in defense of slavery. A *single* specific and demonstrated error would have at least possessed more value than the last four fifths of the alleged review.

I have never met nor corresponded with Dr. Aptheker; I am not even acquainted with anyone who knows him. I believe that he is now in one of the armed services. He is at any rate a serious student who deserves better treatment from a scholarly journal than a review which is merely a resentful reaction to a distasteful theory.

Vassar College

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CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at the Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C.

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